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JOHN FRYER'S
EAST INDIA AND PERSIA
VOL. III

SECOND SERIES
No. XXXIX

ISSUED FOR 1915

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A
NEW ACCOUNT
OF
EAST INDIA AND PERSIA
BEING
NINE YEARS' TRAVELS
1672—1681

BY
JOHN FRYER

EDITED WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION
BY
WILLIAM CROOKE, B A
FORMERLY OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE

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PREFACE

I HAVE received from several friends corrections and additional information on questions considered in the notes of the earlier volumes. These I have included in the Additional Notes. I am specially indebted for assistance received from Professor E. Bensly, Professor E. G. Browne, Mr. W. Foster, Miss E. B. Sainsbury, and Mr. Oliver Strachey. Two friends who gave valuable help throughout this edition have passed away during the course of its publication—Mr. W. Irvine, who had acquired a profound knowledge of Mogul India, and Mr. D. Ferguson, an authority on the Portuguese period.

With a view to economize space I have not reprinted the “Index Explanatory”; but I have embodied the details included in it in the General Index, retaining, in inverted commas, any of Fryer’s definitions of oriental terms which seemed quaint and interesting. I have printed his “Table of

Principal Matters," a good example of an index in his time, and bringing together many of those contentious remarks which a modern index-maker would probably ignore.

W. CROOKE.

LANGTON HOUSE,
CHARLTON KINGS,
2nd February 1915.



THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
PERSIA.

CHAP. XI.

Of the various Names, Situation, and Bounds; the Temper of the Air; of the Seasons and Winds; of the High and Stupefulous Mountains, their Advantage and Convenience; of the Fruitfulness of the Valley, occasioned by Snow upon the Hills Of the Vegetables, Plants, and Minerals; of their Fowl, Four-footed Beasts, and Fishes Their Caravans, Mosquies, Hummums, Buzzars, Houses, and Bridges. The City Suffahaun proposed as a Patern of their Government.

PEERSIA by Classick Authors is fabled to have its Name from King *Perseus*, Son of *Andromeda*, it was anciently called *Elam* by the Hebrews, and now by the Inhabitants, *Phur-sistan*.¹

It is sited in the Temperate Zone, under the Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Climates: In time of Yore the Monarchy of the whole World devolved upon it, and which is miraculous, is not quite extinguished to this day; although the

See Additional Notes, on vol. II, p. 234.

Bounds of the Empire were straitned or enlarged, according to the ebbing or flowing of Fortune. In its Infancy it was mighty, for *Nimrod* was a Powerful Hunter, that is, a great Prince; and as it grew up it increased in Strength; but from the *Grand Cyrus* to *Darius the Mede*, it seemed to be in the Flower of its Age, when it was Mistress of all the Earth which the vast Ocean washes on this side, and the *Hellespont* on the other. After the Death of *Alexander* the Great, it was miserably divided by the Contentions of his Captains; and long since by the Incursions of the *Saracens* it has been declining, unless where it has healed its self towards those Parts bordering on *India*; by which means it has not lost much of its Modern Greatness, though the *Turks* within this Century have forced the Low Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, which the *Persians* were as willing to resign as they to take, they being a continual Charge to defend, and no Advantage to the *Persians*, but rather an unnecessary Trouble: On which Reflections there is nothing forbids, but that with the Judicious *Boterus* we may state its Limits between the *Caspian Sea*, the *Persian Gulph*, the Lake *Stoke*,¹ with the Rivers *Oxus* and *Tigris*, and the Bay and Kingdom of *Cambaia*; which Tract contains in it from *East* to *West* more than Twenty

¹ This lake has not been traced, and the mention of it is probably due to some misapprehension on the part of Fryer. "The whole Empire is terminated on East, West, North, and South; with India, Arabia, the Caspian and Persian Seas. From *Candahor* (equidistant with *Osus* in *Bautria*) to *Babylon*, East and West, it stretches four hundred and forty farsangs, or of English, a thousand three hundred and twenty miles, in seventy days usually travelled; and from *Gulphall* (or *Ielphy neere Van* in *Georgia*) to Cape *Gwader* is 25 degrees, the furthest part of *Gedrosia* or *Macron* on *Indus*, North and South, four hundred ninety and six farsangs, or a thousand foure hundred eighty and eight English miles; in eighty days commonly journeyed; from which we may compute, the circuit is not lesse than foure thousand miles" (Herbert, 224). "Persia, according to the present state of the Empire, to the North is bounded by the *Caspian Sea*; southward by the Ocean; eastward it joyns to the Territories of the Great *Mogul*; Westward, to the Dominions of the Grand *SIGNORE*; the two Empires being parted by the Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*" (Tavernier, 141).

Degrees, and from *North* to *South* above Eighteen, whereby the Days are prolonged or shortned three Hours.

Under this Account is to be reckoned the greater part of *Georgia*, with the Islands in either Seas.

It is distinguished into Provinces; the exact Number whereof, as divided at present, (they as often changing Names as Governors), I have not been certainly informed.

Quintus Curtius erred something when he said, *Regio non alia in totâ Asiad salubrior habetur, temperatum Cælum; hinc perpetuum jugum opacum et umbrosum, quod Aëstas levat; illinc Mare adjunctum quod modico tempore terras foveat.*¹ There is not a Region in all *Asia* esteemed healthier, the Air being temperate; on this hand the Heaven is shaded and the Vales defended by the Tops of Mountains, which qualifies the Heat; on the other, surrounded with Seas and Rivers, which by a friendly Warmth cherish the Land; for that Places near the Tropicks make some Exceptions, where in the Summer they endure great Heat, not only from the nearness of the Sun (because we often observe strange differences to happen in the same Climate), but from the Sands, and Sulphurous Exhalations steaming from the Mountains, which are impregnated herewith; wheras Reason persuades, the Time must be hotter than in other Seasons of the Year: As also in the Midland Country the Cause holds good for its intense Coldness in Winter, and almost through every Quarter at Nights; the Penury of Vapours where the Earth is Rocky and Mountainous, the Rivers are scarce and small, the Snows lye undissolved, nor are there any Woods of that Bigness to hinder the freedom of the Blasts descending pure upon the Vales: On which account immoderate Driness invades the *Mediterranean* Parts, the Air is Serene and Volatile, which as it is highly serviceable to the Respiration of all

¹ Q. Curtius, V, iv, 9, dropping *m* before *totâ Asiad*, and for *Aëstas levat* reading *aestus levat*.

Living Creatures, so it mightily contributes to their Preservation as well as Generation: Moreover, from this Rarity of the Air, follows an undeniable Argument of its Frigidity, and thence a farther concomitant of its Siccitv; from all which results a Dry Constitution; for ἡ ξηρότης τῆς χυμὸς ἐργάζεται χολωδες τέρους τῇ ποιότητι; *Siccitas humores facit qualitate sicciores;*¹ Driness of the Air makes the Humours drier, which the Inland of *Persia* enjoys from a Concatenation of Causes both of Heat and Cold.

The whole Region is very fruitful of Barren Mountains, inclosing the Valleys, being Excrencencies of the Mountain *Taurus*; nor can I disbelieve in many places, but that the Plains do more than enough abound with Plenty, since no Place is unprovided with store of all good things; but on the contrary, like the Promised Land, it overflows. What *Archiseles* relates of the Island *Ithica*, may be applied to this Country, λυπερᾶν μὲν ἀγαθὴν δε κουροτρόφον;² *fragosum esse quidem, sed juvencularum optimum nutritorem:* That it was craggy indeed, but an excellent Breeder of Cattel; the Sheep it brings forth are prodigiously large, trailing Tails after them, of the Weight, some of them, of Thirty Pound, full of Fat, they being stalled to that pitch, that Hogs fed among us with the most Care and Skill, cut not thicker than these do, especially after Vintage, and the Cotton-Harvest, when they are turned in to crop the Leafs and tender Branches of the Vine, and gather up the scattered Seeds of the Cotton, with which they thrive so infinitely, that little Flesh is to be seen, it all being converted to Suet: At other times, for want of Pasture they brouze on Shrubs and Thistles spread to and again, and in Winter

¹ 'Η δὲ ξηρότης οὐδειστέρους μὲν τῷ πλίθει τὸν χυμὸν ἐργάζεται, χολωδεπτέρους δὲ τῇ ποιότητι. Galen, *Commentary on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates*, lib. iii, Aph. vii (*Medicorum Graecorum Opera quae exstant*) ed. C. G. Kühn, vol. xvii, Pars ii, p. 574 (identified by Prof. Bensly).

² Cf. 'ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος (Homer, *Od.*, ix, 27 ff.).

are foddered with Barley-Straw, and now and then with a little Barley.¹

Their Neat, though small, are sleek and well-liking, whose Milk is very good for present spending, but it's better to make Butter on than Cheese. This Country has Goats in Herds, Tame ones, as well as both Sheep and Goats on the Mountains, which are Fierce and Wild, producing *Besoar*; which together with Stags and Antelopes are caught by Hawks instructed for that purpose.

Their Horses, though they have degenerated from their Primitive Race, (*inest enim Equis patrum virtus*;² for even in Horses the Virtue of their Sires are communicated to their Breed;) still are they the best of all the *East*, unless the *Arabian* be preferred for swifter Coursers and light Horses: However for Charging Horses, and Stout Warlike Steeds, they are valued above all others.

The Asses, though little, yet will they amble with a quick Pace over Mountains where Horses cannot pass, and those used to Packs are such as no other Nation can equal. The Mules and Camels are their over Land Ships, by which they transport their Merchandise over all the Earth.

Hyrcania brings forth Wild Beasts, such as Foxes, Wolves, and Tygres, but for want of Dens and Lurking-places, and by reason of the un-tilled and waste Desarts being devoid of Food, is less infested with them than other places; wherefore in long travelling here they go more unconcerned than in those parts where they are constantly alarmed by them, and are forced to be on their Guard, lest at unawares they should be surprized, they snorting every where securely under the wide Canopy of Heaven; and those that set upon

¹ "Sheep are never fed on clover *in situ*, it is considered too precious (it is cut and dried in twists two yards long): but they are, however, allowed to graze on the stubble of wheat and barley, and so manure the land" (Wills, 175). For long-tailed sheep see vol. ii, 206.

² Horace, *Carm.* IV, iv, 30 f.

the Flocks by chance are easily mastered by the Shepherds Curs, which are sharp Biters.

Wild Fowl, both for Wing and Water, are brought forth in great Plenty of all sorts, near the Fountain-heads, and Inundations of the melted Snow, falling not into Channels, but overspreading the Bottoms, where they dissolve, whereby they seldom stretch into Rivers at length, but stagnate in the Low Grounds, which they wash.

In which Washes sometimes are spawned Mud-Fish, and such as Fens and Lakes are famous for. The *Caspian* Sea nourishes Salmon,¹ Trout, and Sturgeon, and the *Persian* Gulp sends abroad much Fish for salting; the Rivers are not very full, nor are they stocked with great Variety.

Bread Corn in many places admits a threefold Crop, and generally without that Toil by Water-Courses as between the Tropicks, the Rains in most places bestowing a more welcome Nutriment; but more especially from the white Spume of the Celestial Waters (with which the Hills are coated all the Seasons of the Year), in Winter crusted by Frost, in Summer (by reason of the Sun's Heat, and more exalted Motion) thawed, thereby constantly distilling on the humble Vales an inexhausted Store, as wealthy as what flows from *Aëmus* Tops to enrich the *Thessalian* Fields.

Where these Supplies are not so lasting (or altogether wanting) as nearer the Zodiac, there often under Ground a Vault is continued for many Leagues, with open Pits at a fit distance to let in the Air, and the Water carried deep to keep it from tasting of the Salt Surface (after the manner of common Sewers in our great Cities), which it would do, were not the Wells Mouths left open:² For Houshold Service Rain-Water is only used.

In all this Country neither Oats nor Grass are found,

¹ See vol. ii, 302.

² The *granāt*. See vol. ii, 199 f.

because longer Time is required to their springing up, than either the Intervals of Heat or Cold will grant; for no sooner does the Spring enter, than the Sun defaces their Verdure by parching up the Blades of either; and when Autumn claims Preeminence at its Equinox, then no sooner do they peep out, than they are nipped by the Recess of the Innate Heat: Wherefore no Green Meadows or spangled Fields are here expected, but such as are created by indefatigable Labour, unless they be hoped to be seen in Vintages, or under Groves or Orchards, or by Rivulets sides gliding from the declining Hills.

The first are set generally on Fruitful Ridges of the Eastern Mounts,

—*Denique apertos*
Bacchus amat Colles— Virg. Georg. 2.¹

The latter are the frequent Advantages to Villages, and the sweet Pleasure of the larger Towns; where Trees and Flowers grow up together, that the one may yield a safe shelter to the other, against the Extremes of Heat or Cold; in both whose Prime a fragrant Blandishment conspire no less, than to entice the willing Senses: But for Elegancy of Culture and choice of Slips, I see them not over emulous; which Neglect gives just occasion of Wonder, since their Worldly Happiness is placed in fine Gardens, which no Nation appears to me more to Idolize.

For Fuel, the combustible Heath is more common than flourishing Trees for Timber; but for Sallads it yields all that are desirable, both Herbs and Roots; and some of the most Medicinal Plants are of the Natural Growth of this Country.

There is an heavy Tax laid upon Tobacco, though it be the choicest in these Parts.²

¹ Virgil, *Geor.* ii, 112 f.

² A recent attempt to make a monopoly of tobacco was defeated on account of popular agitation (Curzon, ii, 498 f.).

To these Blessings for Pleasure, Necessity, and Physick, are added others for Profit: Gums, the most Rich, distil every where: From *Carmania*, Goats-Wool¹ (as much to be prized as *Jason's* Golden Fleece) with which our Hatters know well how to falsify their Bevers; and the Natives how more honestly to weave both Cloth and Carpets very fine, which they sell at dear Rates. The Flocks and courser Wool of their Sheep stand them in some stead, they kneading it into Felts, for Seamless Coats for the ordinary sort of People, for their common wearing; and their Skins with the Wool on, are both an Ornament and Safeguard against the roughest Weather: But Lambs-skins with their crisped Wool are of more Credit, (they being excellent Artists to make them keep their Curl), and not disdained to be worn by the chieftest Gentry; of whose Leather they make good Merchandise, it being esteemed better than *Turkish*, their Tanners being expert at dressing, not only these and Kid, but other Hides of larger size, which therefore are bought up with Greediness by all Foreigners, for their real Excellency.

Goats and Camels, after other good Services performed, bequeath their Hair to their Weavers, of which they make water'd Camlets.

But above all, the Wool-bearing Cotton Shrub renders by its Wealthy Down those Riches which are deeper digg'd for.²

Nor does the Silk worm lay it self out less for the Publick Weal, while it spins out its own Bowels, until nothing be left within its Cask but Air; contrary to the Trite Saying of *Aristotle*, *Ex nihilo nihil fit*;³ Out of Nothing comes

¹ For Carmania wool see vol. i, 219 f.

² Cotton is largely grown, principally in the central districts and Khorasan, and some qualities are excellent and command high prices in the European markets" (*Encyc. Brit.*¹¹, xxi, 196).

³ Compare:

gigni posse reverti de nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil
(Persius, *Sat.* iii, 83-84).

Nothing; for by the Industry of this Insect, the first Foundation of the *Persian* Silks, Velvets, and Rich Embroider'd Carpets, are laid, with which the greatest part of the habitable World do Pride themselves.

And since we descend to these busy Tutors of Mankind, who upbraid the slothful and oscitantly idle, let us step through the Monarchy of the Bees, and taste the Sweets they suck from Nature's ample Storehouse, and see how they return with Thighs laden with Honey, to stock themselves, and build their Mansions to nourish their young, and enough to spare to feed Mankind besides; and in their Last Testament make the *Persians* Legatees, by leaving them huge Cakes of Wax.

Let's look a little lower, and ransack the Deep, and we shall find the *Persian* Pearls excelling all others that are generated in Sea-shells, from which Beds are brought forth *Unions*, adorning the Necks and Ears of the greatest Princesses, and the Crowns and Diadems of the mightiest Emperors, begot at certain Seasons of the Year in the Flesh of Oysters, as the Concrete Grains or Hardness in Swines-Flesh (I suppose scrophulous Tumors), by the Dew of Heaven, says *Tertullian*.¹ Whence if it Thunders or Lightens, says *Pliny*,² the Oysters are straitned, or miscarry; but others render it quite contrary: So that I should leave their Original as disputable here as ever, if no Belief could be fixed on Experience, which confirms their Increase to be chiefly owing to the Virtue both of Showers and Thunder.

Before we launch too far, let us examine with what Faculties this Land is endued: Indeed it is blessed with many more than at first landing the Superficies does

¹ Most of the pearls found off the island of Bahiein are known as "Bombay pearls," from the fact that many of the best are sold there (*Ency. Brit.*¹¹, xxi, 25).

² *Nat. Hist.* ix, 54.

promise; for besides the already enumerated Excellencies, it is not altogether a dead Soil, though it be right enough termed so by *Paracelsus*, speaking generically; for it is not to be understood as comprehensible in the Element, but as it subsists and lives impregnated in the Macrocosm, it receiving its Fœcundity through its Virtue, whereby it vegetates, and takes upon it the Nature of Minerals, Stones, Gaults, or Clay, and of Animals, as well as Plants. We having yet but lightly turned up the Glebe, have hardly given the Potter his handful of White Marle to form into Vessels without *Fucus*, deservedly challenging the Superiority; unless the ancient *Chinese* would restore the true Porcelin, which they cannot, it requiring the Growth of some Ages, which their late Civil Wars and Tumults has forbidden to be effected, while they wreak their Anger on these Treasures, to the Ruin of their Enemies, and the utter loss of their own Reputation in that Point.

Lapis Tutiae¹ & *Manatæ* from *Carmania*; and the best Brimstone from the County of *Lhor*.

Bole², famed for its Power by the general Consent of all the Physicians in the World, is carried from *Armenia* and its Neighbouring Territories, for their Use.

Deeper in the Bowels of the Mines, the Turquoise (the most lively of any) endures the Rape of those that search for it.

But the *Lapis Lazuli*, vulgarly called the *Armenian Stone³*, is imputed to be a Native of that Region; for the

¹ *Tutiyā, cupri sulphas*, or blue-stone (Watt. ii, 649).

² Bole Armeniac, an astringent earth, formerly used as an antidote and styptic (*New Eng. Dict.*).

³ There is much confusion between *Lapis Armeniacus*, used in bilious disorders, and *Lapis Lazuli* (see Linschoten, ii, 144 f.). "Persia also produces *Ager Armery*, that is the *Armenus Lapis* of our Physicians, otherwise called *Lapis Lazuli*. *Ager*, as has been said before, in *Arabick* signifies a Stone" [i.e. Ar. *hazar*] (Stevens, *H. of Persia*, 158).

true *Lapis Lazuli* is brought hither only by the *Tartars* inhabiting beyond the *Caspian Sea*; and then, but when they come on Embassies to the Sufsee, (for others of their Nation are not permitted to expatiate the Universe, or wander from their own Homes, nor for Strangers is it lawful to enter their Dominions): Wherefore neither can they transport it on this side, nor on the other side will they hold any Correspondence with these: However it happens, under these Difficulties and Restraints the *Armenians* sometimes do attempt to acquire it, leaving no Stone unturn'd to purchase it; and having once gained it, they suck thence as much Profit, as they please to value the Hazard of the Enterprize at, wherein they use little Conscience; whence it comes to pass it is sold for such vast Rates to the *Europeans*. From this Stone is made that Colour they name *Ultra-marine Blue*, though the Azure be made of the *German Stone*: It is besides commended for purging all Melancholy Affects.

The Mountains produce Marbles¹ hard enough to endure the Polish, if they knew how to bestow it; yet besides the Monuments of *Persepolis*, where Statues and Columns are beholding for their Splendor to that Science, and the Dens and Caves Mouths of the old *Gaurs* bear some deformed ones, (unless the King's Palaces have some Tanks, and the Princes and Great Men some Gate-Posts and Lintels smoothly polished), few others are seen; for what reason I know not, unless their Religion prohibit, or they delight more in Brick and Muddy Walls, though less durable, or that it is so decreed by Fate, even as Things or Times naturally decline from bad to worse: Thus it is, from Marble Cities they are now become hardly Brick; by which means the most sumptuous Tombs of the foregoing

¹ The stone in the buildings at Persepolis is really calcareous lime-stone.

Emperors hardly declare to the succeeding Generation in whose Memory they were intended.

As the Mountains bring forth Marble, so the Earth dispensest Hot Baths and Mineral Waters for their Commodity; in like manner, Natural Mummy, and a Liquid Bitumen in the Lake from whence *Semiramis* took Cement to unite the Wall she built round *Babylon*; and from about Thirty Mountains near the same place about *Schamachia*, as it is conjectured, springs the famous *Naphtha*.

At the Foot of the high Mountain *Barmuch*¹ are found several sorts of Minerals, with which its prodigious Womb is pregnant: But at finding of these, as their Ingenuity is slow, so for certain they are less apt to put themselves upon extraordinary Labours in Spagyrical Operations; having hitherto been content with the dull Metals of Lead and Iron, had not lately *Hermes* Wand directed them to the Scrutiny of a Copper Vein; from whence they reap not greater Emolument than the *Hollanders* do Detriment: For formerly as they brought great Quantities from *Japan*, that turned to good Account, now that Trade falls off; and whereas before it yielded them besides Cloth of Gold and Silver, Silks and Velvets, Carpets and other Manufactories, which they are obliged by Compact to take off their hands every Year, to the entire Sum of Fifty thousand *Thomands*, all which they more than cleared, carrying away moreover several Tuns of Gold and Silver in Coin; at present they can but just pay, and make even the aforesaid Indenture.

About *Siras* are to be digged Mines of Gold and Silver, but they quit neither Cost nor Pains, wherfore they have laid aside the farther Inquest into them.

Hitherto we have run through a spacious Field, though

¹ According to Prof. Browne Küh-i-Barmak or Küh-i-Bābak. On the copper mines of Persia, see Curzon, ii, 510 ff.

perhaps not every where equally fortunate in every thing; for,

*Hic Segetes, illic veniunt fructibus Uvae
Arbores fatus alibi—¹*

Here Corn grows best, there Vines do flourish more;
Woods in another place produce their Store.

Though for the most part this is an hospitable Soil, cherishing in its Matrice whatever is kindly sowed.

And this Increase is continued without any notable River, that hath either Breadth or Depth for to bear laden Vessels of any Bulk: For, as *Varenius* writes, the manner whereby any Rivers of considerable or indifferent Bigness exist, are twofold; either from the conjunction of many Rivulets into one Stream, or that they flow from great Lakes; the former of which every one hinders, while they draw every Brook to their own Use; so that instead of filling large Channels, they almost dren them quite, which might otherwise merit to be called great Rivers; to wit, that of *Siras* and *Persepolis*, which washing its Plain, makes a long Journy before it mixes with the Salt Sea: And lastly, the River at *Suffahann*,² which never runs with a full Current, only about the Autumnal Quarter, when sometimes by Rain, but always by the dissolved Snows after Summer is over, the Husbandmen breaking down their Dams, purposely raised to keep the Waters up for the sake of the Rice, the Waters being let loose, return to the Main Channel, and raise themselves to the Brins of its Banks, otherwise passable in most places: This first way failing, we shall see what Supply is to be expected from the Lake *Stoke*, which lies too low to ascend the High Countries; and for the *Caspian* Sea or Lake, I doubt not it will appear as impossible, if it be true what is said in

¹ Virgil, *Geor.* i, 54 ff.

² The Zindah-i-rûd of Ispahân is lost in an unexplored swamp, and the Kûr or Bandamîr forms the salt-lake of Niris.

behalf of it, That many mighty Rivers empty themselves into it, which it receives without the least Augmentation, and therefore cannot return their Kindness reciprocally.

Which being consider'd, this Land is chiefly beholden to wholesome Springs of Living Water, to quench the Thirst of Plants as well as living Creatures, which are to that End bestowed on them apart by a more Liberal Providence, than either of the former by a joint Consent.

Notwithstanding the impending Clouds, they are mostly without Rain; and though they lowre some Weeks together, they rarely drop Moisture.

The sudden Gusts and impetuous Blasts from the Mountains hindring them, oftner cause near the Maritime Coasts, Hurricanes of Wind, and wonderful Tempests of Sand, so Thick and Black, that the Clouds raised thereby benight the very Day, and while the Storm lasts (which is not long) induces a Darkness to be felt; and the Fury over, it leaves the Effects of a Fired Air:¹ Unless when the Seven Stars arise on this Horizon at the beginning of Spring, when a mellifluous Dew lies not long on the Trees and the Plants, before it be concrete into the choicest Manna.²

And although at stated Times the Snow does furnish them with Water, yet it suffers in nothing more than in extreme Drought. Which is the reason Eminent Cities and Market-Towns stand not thick, but are at vast distances one from another; nor are the Villages less straggling, two scarcely falling under the Eye from the Tops of their highest Mountains, excepting in some few of their Wealthiest Plains.

The most principal Cities I have seen, are *Gombroon*, and *Bunder-Congo*, two great Ports in the Gulph of *Persia*,

¹ Sandstorms in Persia are described by Malcolm (*H. of Persia*, ii, 367); Stack, ii, 4; Benjamin, 49.

² See vol. ii, 201.

famous for Traffick on that side of the World. *Lhor*, the Granary for these Ports. *Jerom*, excelling in Dates.¹ *Siras*, like another Phoenix sprung out of the Ashes of *Persepolis*, which still retains the Dignity and Majesty of the Metropolis of *Persia*, strictly so called; after the same manner as *Ispahaun*, *Spahaun*, or *Suffahau*, most properly is of *Parthia*; only so much the more Honourable, by how long it shall please the Emperor to fix his Throne there.

Those Cities which Fame has brought to our Ears, are *Casbin*,² another Royal City, bordering on the *Caspian*, sicklier than *Spahaun*, tho' it exceed it in Plenty of all things. *Tabercz*, i.e. *Taurus* in *Armenia*, not far from Mount *Ararat*, now the Seat of the Chief Patriarchate; it is conterminous to the *Turks*, and the most Trading Empory on that side. For weaving and transporting Silks and Velvets, *Gillan*³ stands in the first Rank; in the second, *Sherwan*,⁴ *Jouscan* sells excellent Wool, and from *Mushat* is brought the best Iron and Copper, these being Cities in *Carmania*. At *Derab*⁵ is the true *Pissasphaltus*: At *Nerez*, *Assa Fuetida*: At *Shabanat* are the best *Bezoar-Stones*.

The Buildings of their Cities are of Three Sorts, the Houses being diversified in respect of the Place, Time, and Persons; for the Forms of those of the Citizens, Nobles, and Peasants, are not all alike: As those in Sandy and Hot Places are of one Shape, and those in Rocky, Stony, and Cold Parts of another: So likewise the Anniversary Mutations in any of these, make them fit their Habitations for those Quarters.

The Palaces of the Potentates are built mostly after this manner: Towards the Street appears little or no Fronti-

¹ Jährum, vol. ii, 202 f.

² Kasvin, in N. Persia. See Curzon, i, 35 f.

³ Gilān (*ibid.*, i, 355 ff.: Ency. Brit.¹¹, xii, 6).

⁴ Shirwan, capital of Kushan in N. Persia (Curzon, i, 100 ff.: Ency. Brit.¹¹, xxiv, 991).

⁵ See vol. ii, 356.

spiece, more than the Porch, which makes a square stately Building, arched at top, under which is a stately Balcony, open on every side, over the Hastle,¹ which compasses neat Apartments, and are defended from the Sun's Heat by large Umbrelloes or Penthouses,² stretching themselves wide to draw in the cool Air, the embowed parts wherof are fretted, and the out-parts shine with Blue inlaid with Gold: The Casements, or Folding-doors rather, sparkle with Glorious Panes of Glass of several Colours, and declare the Workmanship of the Carvers; as does the outside Slates the Skill of the Tilers in Glazing and Painting, as well as the Marble Facing the Ingenious Design of the Surveyor.

From the Portal runs on each hand round the Garden a Mud-Wall very high, though not very thick, which another Wall thwarts just in the middle, from the Porch to the main Building, thereby to part the Mens Quarters from the Womens; the latter whereof encloses the Kitchen-Garden; the other is destined for Fragrant Plants, Aromatic Flowers, and outstretching Trees for Pleasure, as well as bearing Fruit for Use. The Houses are so contrived, that in the Summer they are open Banqueting-Houses, refreshed with Fountains as they sit in *Frisco*, which descend thence to all the Quadrangles by Water-Courses. Since the greatest part of this Empire is not far off the *Northern Tropick*, it is therefore no wonder it should complain of Heat, especially in the Summer, at which Season the Sun strikes the Earth more directly with its Rays; for which cause, amongst all of them, Aqueducts and Fountains in the very Rooms below Stairs, are mightily prized, with

¹ Hastle does not appear in the *New Eng. Dict.* If it be not a misprint, Prof. Bensly (10 Ser. *Notes and Queries*, x, 377) refers to Körting, *Latinisch-romantisches Wörterbuch*, 1891, s.v. *fastigialis*, Span. hastial: "Wand in der Kirche, welche den Fenstern gegenüber liegt."

² The *bādgīr*, vol. ii, 159 f.

Water works playing to cool the burning Particles of the incensed Air; and the whole Structure is constituted so, that it may receive these Refreshments every way it is capable: Wherefore they defend their Dwellings from the Sun, and are constantly sprinkling Water around their Seats from these Currents; and from their Tops have many Breathing-places to receive the Wind, which are so fixed, that whatever Breezes stir, they shall suck them in, and transmit them to all the Rooms of the House, as they list.¹

In Winter, if they be remote from the Sea, they shut up their open Halls and Parlours, and make them close Apartments, by letting down those Umbrelloes that shaded them in Summer, to keep them warm in the cold Winter, till its Severity be past, spreading all the Floor with Quilts thick and warm, and kindling Stoves² in all their Bed-chambers: These also are of a different Model from those nearer the Sea, They being mostly flat, These arched: Their Roofs are made of Wood fetch'd from *India*, with transverse Beams upon Clay walls, or Stone with untempered Mortar, till they come to the just Altitude of their Houses, when the *Interstitialia* or Spaces between Beam and Beam are filled with Palm-Leafs neatly laid and painted, which serve for Cieling.

It is universally common to Spherical, Arched, or Plain Buildings, to lay vast Loads of Mud at top; and what is more wonderful, only with Mud and Clay, they will rear most spacious Arches, without other matter of Assistance; whereupon either against Snows or Rains, should they continue (which they never do long) they would make but faint Resistance; for being soaked thoroughly, they would resolve into their first Entity: Whence in great Snows, to

¹ Persian houses are described by Tavernier (147 f.); Morier, *Second Journey* (135); MacGregor (i, 38, 176); Benjamin (69); Malcolm (*H. of Persia*, ii, 375).

² See vol. ii, 312 f.

defend and keep their Dwellings standing, they shovel it all from the Tops of their Houses into the Lanes, and thereby obstruct the Passages of their most Publick Streets, when the Snow has not fallen above two days, and also endanger the Foundations; which the Rich better secure by Brick Bottoms, than the Poor, whose Fabricks often totter on such occasions: However, they have a better Opportunity against Fire, their Mansions affording little combustible Substance for that to feed on.

The Citizens are not so sumptuous as the Nobles; and the Villages are content with Cottages, with either Plain or Arched Roofs, neither presuming to exalt them to an unbecoming Height, in regard of either of their Stations: Their Casements are latticed, not going to the Price of Glass, which is Foreign, and for that reason scarce. Concluding then with these Tenements, we are brought to view on what Basis their Government stands: For the Welfare and Support of Cities, are the Observation of their Laws;

Salus Civium in Legibus consistit.

Wholsome Laws the City's Safety are,
Against all Violence the surest Bar.

Justitia una alias virtutes continet omnes.

Justice alone all other Virtues holds.

And as a Patern of all their Politicks, I shall propose *Spahaun* (or rather *Suffahaun*, as by and by shall be declared), not only the Head of *Parthia*, but of the whole Nation; which Region by *Mercator* is named *Arac*,² placed between *Media*, *Persia*, *Carmania*, and *Hyrcania*: By some it is called *Charasan*;³ by the Inhabitants, *Airoon*;⁴ it lies

¹ Prof. Bensly points out that this phrase appears to be a translation of Aristotle's *Rheticic*, lib. i, cap. 4: ἐν γάρ τοῖς νόμοις ἔστιν η σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως. Tobias Magirus in quoting this in his *Polymnemion* (2nd edition, Frankfort, 1661, col. 1383) adds the rendering "In legibus consistit salus civitatis."

² Irāk, properly 'Irāq.

³ Khurāsān.

⁴ Trān.

almost under the Fifth Climate, in Thirty seven Degrees of Latitude *North*, and Eighty six of Longitude *East*; the Days differ Three Hours in the Course of the Year: Nor are the Seasons so calm and sedate, that they should be esteemed temperate, so as not to exceed in either Extreme, where in Summer they must use Caves, Vaults, and Grottoes, and in Winter Stoves and Hot-houses.

The Air is very rare at *Spahaun*, and the Wind drying: The City has no need of Walls, where so many Marble Mountains stand as a Guard, or Bulwark of Defence; it has indeed a Tower, but it is a Mud one, rather serving as an Armory, than to be relied on as a place of Strength; so that I shrewdly suspect whether ever this were the *Hecatompylos*¹ of *Ortellius*, as is related by more than one. The Circumference of the Body of the City I guess may measure Seven Miles; but if the dispersed Gardens and Seats of the Great Men, with the Palace Royal be brought into that Computation, we must allow it as many *Pharsangs*.

The Journy to it is difficult in Bands, Troops, or Companies, by reason of the uneven Way encompassing every side for many Miles together; therefore to attempt coming to it with an Army or Warlike Force, must not be ascribed to Prudence of Conduct or Valour, unless there should arise another *Alexander* (which must be imputed to his good Fortune, rather than Prowess or Virtue) hairbrain'dly resolute to undergo no Repulse, tho the Enterprize surpass all human Probability: For it must unavoidably fare with him literally, as it did hyperbolically only with *Xerxes* his Host, who are reported to have been so numerous as to drink whole Rivers dry as they passed;² what then would Cisterns of Rain-water do, or now and then a small Brook,

¹ Usually identified with Damghan: *Ency. Brit.*¹¹, vii, 787.

² Herodotus, vii, 108, 109.

to quench the Thirst even of an ordinary Detachment, not likely to put so Populous a City in the least Consternation? But to find Food in such Bye and Desolate Paths for any considerable Force, would be past possibility, unless at the Expence of a Miracle. By these Bars, whereby the Passes are easily secured (an Handful of Men being able to withstand an Host) and the Avenues inaccessible, the Hostile Arms of the *Turks* have been put to a stop, who otherwise would have set no Bounds to their Desires, could they have conquered these Obstacles, whereby they would at the same time have carried the Empire too.

The small Attendance we carried up to *Sphainun*, was demonstration enough of this Truth; for though we fared well, yet it was tiresome, and few else meet with the like Conveniences, they being assured that we would more than reward their readiness to provide for us, whereby we the better overcame those Straits, which prepared an Entrance into the large Field where this invincible City lay open to us; deriving its Annual Nutriment from a clear River, which it bestows plentifully from its hollow Womb.¹ But that which it bears the Bays away for, is its being seated in the very Heart of the Empire.

For sake whereof, its Founder (or at least, Adorner) *Shaw Abas* the Great, advisedly chose it for his Imperial Throne, that thence he might more readily disperse his Mandates, and be assisting by his Auxiliaries, to any suffering Part, assaulted by the bold Incursions of his Enemies; irradiating like the Sun in the Firmament (by the Influence of his Power) all within the Sphere of his Government: So that while the utmost of his Dominions are seasonably supplied with the comfortable Warmth of his Protection, he safely resides within, invulnerable from Foreign Strokes, and reigns in this his Capital City with-

¹ The Zāyendeh.

out Controul. And as the Founders of Old *Rome* promised Eternity to their Empire as well as City, in digging up a Man's Skull, and thence, as from the best Omen, were encouraged;¹ as not being persuaded the Capitol could be a fit Basis for the Monarchy of the World, unless it were built on the Foundation that was so luckily offered them: So from the same Auspicious Sign *Shaw Abas* presaged the like happy Event, building a Pillar of his Enemies Heads, raised as a Trophy to his Valour.² What else is August in *Suffahaun*, are the remaining Products of his Brain, more truly than *Minerva* was said to be the Offspring of *Jove*.

The magnificently-arch'd Buzzars, which form the Noble Square to the Palace; the several Publick Inns, which are so many Seraglios; the stately Rows of Sycamores, which the World cannot parallel; the glorious Summer-houses, and pleasant Gardens, the stupendous Bridges, sumptuous Temples, the Religious Convents, the College for the Professors of Astronomy, are so many lasting Pyramids and Monuments of his Fame; though many of them begin to sink in their own Ruin, for want of timely Repair; such is the fatal Calamity of human Structures, Time corroding the most durable: But to speak properly and truly, the Cause of so early a Decay is the slothful Nature, and disregard of their Forefathers Honour, that possesses the improvident *Persians*, lest any thing tending to perpetuate their Memories, should by reviving their Virtues be made use of as a Reproach to their instant Supineness; and for that reason they let all fall to the Ground, never offering to underprop a declining Building.

This City has *Cæsar* for its principal Patron; under him

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxviii, 4. Granger, *Worship of the Romans* (149), gives the story in Pliny's words, but with a wrong reference. But the placing of bones under the house of a doomed man was ominous (*Tacitus, Annals*, ii, 69).

² See vol. ii, 245.

the *Caun*,¹ who is President of the Province, or County-Sheriff, (who is ever one of the Prime Nobility, and of the highest Rank among the Courtiers, always on Duty near the Emperor's Person, that he may be ready to give an account of his Charge upon demand, and at hand to introduce all Addresses that concern his Office to represent; being as it were a Skreen between so high a Majesty, and the meanness of the Popularity under his Protection, lest they should intrude too prophanely, or be struck blind by the too bright Rays of an Absolute Power) is interposed as a fit Medium, to qualify by a suitable Intercession the necessary distance each Condition ought to be kept at, to maintain the mutual Benefit expected on both sides. Whilst he is thus employed, and receives the greatest Profits of his Lordship, he deputes his Lieutenant to the Trust of governing, who transacts all in his Name, as his Chief Vicar.

But the *Suffee's* Vicar-General is by his Place the Second Person in the Empire, and always the First Minister of State, called by them *Etimundoulet*. *The Chief Slave*;² under whose Jurisdiction the Provinces of lesser Note do fall, and are at his disposing immediately next the Emperor's; whose *Cauns* or Dukes therefore are obliged to constant Residence in their several Districts; and if it fortune that at any time they have Business with the Emperor, they apply themselves to the *Etimundoulet*, as to the Lord Chancellor of the whole Kingdom, to whose Management they commit themselves and their Cause; who cannot be absent from their Metropolis at any time,

¹ Khān. When Sir Dodmore Cotton's embassy was received by Shāh' Abbās at Ashraf in Mazandarān, the nobles of the Court attended, "tacite meerzaes, chawns, sultans, and bezlerbegs" (Herbert, 184).

² I'timād-ud-dawlat, "stay of the empire." This was the title applied in India to Khwājah Ayās or Ghayās, father of Nūr Jahān Begum the favourite queen of the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr (*Aīn*, i, 508 f.): of the Wazīr Kamru-d-din Khān, and of Muhammad Amīr Khān, son of Mīr Jumla.

before they have constituted a *Janizeen*,¹ which is an Under-Sheriff, who thereby transmit their Authority to him, only reserving the Honour to themselves.

All these Prefects in their Dominions behave themselves after the Example of the Emperor himself, in respect of Grandeur as well as Rule, only remembering they are but Tenants at Will, and therefore fail not to present their Master and his Family with the First Fruits of the Growth of each Province; which Annual Commemoration is a Monitor of their Homage and Fealty to their Supreme Lord, which he exacts as a due Debt, and they pay as an acknowledgment of their Servitude to him; in which as long as they continue in his Grace, at every New-Year's Day he sends them a Livery, or Robe of Honour, to be retained his Slaves, which they receive as a Mark of the highest Favour; and to be called a *Goloomy Shaw*,² *The King's Vassal*, is the highest *Aper* of their Ambition.

Subordinate to the forementioned Officers, is the *Droger*,³ or Mayor of the City, or Captain of the Watch or the Rounds: It is his Duty to preside with the Main Guard a-nights before the Palace-Gates, and thence to make Excursions through the City, to disperse, secure, and apprehend Idle and Vagrant Persons, that can give no Account of themselves, to punish Offenders of that nature, and to keep the Peace.

In all their Buzzars, which are locked up in the dead of the Night, there are Watches to prevent Thieves, at the common Expence of every Shopkeeper.

¹ This may possibly represent Pers. *Jā'ē-nishn*, "sitting in a place, a holder of office."

² See vol. ii, 166.

³ Pers. *dārogah*, probably of Mongol origin, a term applied to officers of various degrees of importance (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 297). "A Deroga . . . is the judge of a village" (Tavernier, 75). Malcolm (*H. of Persia*, ii, 324) describes him as the lieutenant of police, who acts immediately under the Hākim or Governor.

The next in Office is the *Questor Zygostates*,¹ or Clerk of the Market, known among them by the Title of *Calenture*;² he fixes the Price of Corn, has the Oversight of all Bakers, Cooks, &c. and by his own Authority can not only confiscate their Goods to the Poor, but mulct with loss of Life such Offenders as are notoriously irreclaimable otherwise; many times throwing a Baker into his own Red-hot Furnace, that vends poysous Corn, or cheats in the Weight; and the Cook into his own Boiling Caldron, for imposing on the People Carrion, or ill-nourishing Flesh, found in Highways or Ditches: Thus deals he with Malefactors of this Batch. Besides, he is Receiver of all the Rents of the City, and pays it into the King's Treasury.

The last Person to be treated of is the *Cazy*,³ or Publick Justiciary, who will deserve a special Treatise by himself, and therefore is to be reserved for a fitter season.

But in the mean time we may observe, That by such Cyclops as these are formed the Thunderbolts of the Almighty *Jove*, whereby he both makes the whole *Olympus* shake, and preserves the Laws of every private City as well as Country to which they belong. As all things by a Natural Tendency move from the Circumference to the Centre, so from the Confluence of all Nations of the World hither, it becomes the Chief Empory, as well as an Exemplar of their Government; although it hath declined much since the *Europeans* have discovered the way by Sea to *India*: For long before that it was the Storehouse and general Market for *Indian* Wares as well as its own; and by consequence, as it was the Staple of the Universe, it was the common Receptacle of all the Money ebbing and flowing from all Parts: But this *Bosphorus* being stopped,

¹ Ζυγοστάτης, a public officer who supervised the weights.

² See vol. ii, 204.

³ Qāzī, a Mohammedan judge (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 177)

from a Sea it became a Lake, in which Riches do now stagnate, not circulate, or at least not with that Force they did before.

However, as long as the busy Merchant from the uttermost Coasts, gapes after its Commodities to advance his Pelf, and for his sake the Publick Buzzars are kept in better Repair than less-frequented Buildings, it must be allowed it is so far from a Total Decay of Trade, that few Cities in the World surpass it for Wealth, and none come near it for those stately Buildings; which for that reason are kept entire, while others made of Lime and Slate, belonging to private Persons, hardly last their Founders Lives, for want of timely Care.

For the Citizens rather chuse to dwell in a tottering House, than appear lavish in Costly Building or Apparel, for fear their Governors should suspect they have too much Riches,¹ when they are sure never to be at rest till they have dived into the bottom of their Treasuries; which Extortion is returned by the King upon their Rulers, whereby the Emperor's Treasure grows exuberantly great: Which is the cause the Citizens so often lay up their Talents in Napkins, since it is a Crime to expose their Wealth by specious or luxurious Shews, according to the accustomed Pride of Wealthiest Corporations among us.

Whence it proceeds that only Courtiers and Soldiers in this Country, who are maintained by Annual Pensions, are permitted to live gallantly; whose regard of the Publick Utility is rarely so much considered, as to spare any thing from their manner of enjoying themselves, either to adorn or benefit the Cities in which they reside: On which ground it is, that their best Cities seldom have splendid Edifices to command them, from mean or private Hands; though in the Suburbs of their Capital City Spahaun, there

¹ Fryer has already (vol. i, 246) referred to the risk of any display of wealth under an Oriental government.

are many by the Rivers side, both of the Nobles and the Emperors stately Palaces.

But what celebrates it most, are the covered Buzzars, or Market-places, continued through the whole City; and the Inns of Strangers, occupying them in the time of their Business; their Baths, Temples, and Convents, which have Stipends to support them from being an Eyesore and Blemish in their principal Places; all which deserve a particular Description.

And therefore I shall begin with their Inns, or *Caravan Ser Raws*, which are divided into Three Species, both in respect of their Site and Form, as well as Matter, through the whole Empire. Those near the Sea-shore for Seven Days Journey or thereabouts, are commonly of this Figure; they are reared of unpolished Stones, on an Area Three Foot high, to keep out the Horses, and leave an outward Space for Servants to lye on, whercon are erected Four Pillars, which support Four bowed Roofs, surrounding an Hemispherical Arch in the middle, where at each side over head are large open Windows (or Doors rather) to receive the Air, and at every Corner of the Square, Forms within a separate Apartment for their Men of Note, which are in open Cloysters; and without, Four more, close, for those that cannot endure the Air, or for their Women; every Quarter has a wide Entrance or open Gate to add to its Airyness; to which Inns are no Stables or shady Places for the Beasts of Burthen, unless there happen to be Trees, which is a great chance in such Sandy, Wild, and Desert Places. To the most famous of these now and then happens to be an Host provided with Necessaries for Travellers, to furnish them at easy Rates with Cheese and Fruit, Bread and Barley, the first whereof the Poor make their Meals on, and their Beasts on the latter: But they must dress both their Victuals and their Beasts themselves, for he affords neither Cook nor any other to the

best that come, no more than to the lowest; offering at no more than to sell Mans-Meat and Horse-Meat.

They mostly nest in common, and observe no distinction among themselves either at Church, in the Bath, or in the *Caravan Ser Raw*; he that comes first, is first served, none give way to another; whereby there is in the same Inn a multitude of all sorts, Footmen, Horsemen, Merchants, together with an hideous Confusion of People within, and the Noise of Beasts, Packers, and Servants.

Notwithstanding which, if a Foreign Ambassador with a great Retinue arrive, or any of their Nobles (whom they only respect as Men among them) pitch his Tent, or take up his Quarters with them, these will remove, and proffer him Room, seeking Lodgings on the Outward Lodge, or Advance-Border of the *Caravan Ser Raw* for themselves; but then this must be esteemed a great Mark of their Compliance, and indeed almost forced, they usually stomaching such a Disturbance with frowning Countenances, and sometimes open Revilings.

This Form, after Seven Days travelling, is from an huddled Stack of Buildings expatiated into a large Square in the middle of the Area, where in the Summer-time both the Cattel and Packs are shut in by Doors lock'd a-nights, and open'd early in the Morn, to keep in the straying Troop together, and for the safety of their Bundles, lest any should be stollen: In the heart of this Square is raised a place as large as a Mountebank's Stage, where the *Gelabdar*,¹ or Master Muliteer, with his prime Passengers or Servants, have an opportunity to view their whole *Caphala*.

This Office in *Turky* is held a Place of Trust and

¹ Pers. *jilandār*, *jalavidār*, (*jalav*, "a horse-bridle"), the groom who leads a horse (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 468). "Have just heard by a gelopdare that the caravan has safely arrived" (Letter of 1622, in Foster, *English Factories*, 1622-3, p. 13).

Honour, he being Captain of all the Troops going together, and hires Soldiers, and lists them in his Pay, being a Churlish *Nabal* to Christians; but he is here of no other Account than to look after his Number of Mules, Camels, or Asses, and to see they bring their Lading safe where consigned, and often becomes subject himself to Bastinadoes on the Soles of the Feet: Wheras the other in his Journey takes upon him a kind of Bassaship, and never fails to lay any Miscarriage or Misfortune on the Bones of the *Fringi*, or *Franks*: But it is otherwise here, because of the *Rhadary* undertaking to secure Travellers; which is easily done in an entirely-subjected Empire, not liable to Treacherous Insults of Ravening Thieves in Companies, as they are to the Wild *Arabs* and other Outlaws.

In Winter-time there are Stables spacious of holding Four hundred Carriers Horses together with their Burthens, on the backside of little Chambers, fronting the *Peristylium* or Cloyster'd Entry, all black with Smoke when they retire into them in the Winter; lying else before them on open Cloysters, which are so many Antichambers to every one of them, and at first appearance make a Piatza, were not every distinct Arch on each side separated by a Party-Wall, being all alike, and did not the Middle Arch of each side make a difference by a more spacious and exalted distinction, each answering the Loftiness of the Porch within, though that rises higher into an aspiring square Tower, with lightsome Summer-Chambers aloft, which makes a Magnificent Entry; and thence the Covering of the Caravan runs on a plain Terras, convenient for the whole Number of Guests to spread their Carpets, Matrasses, Plads, or Beds, for lodging in the Night time.

Since the Architecture to these in View and Variety (by their alternate Chambers and Cloysters, which by distinct Arches keep their due Order) is no deformed sight, it yields besides a double Utility, for the defence of

Strangers against both the Injuries of Heat and Cold: And those of them that are built of Stone or Brick, have not once only stood it out in the nature of strong Forts against their Opposers, but have many times been made tenable, being stored with Ammunition and Provision.

Those nearer *Spahan* have most an end the same Form or Shape below, but are oftner tubulated than tabulated above, and are made of Mud for the most part; but in *Spahan* its self, where Strangers abide longer, they are more splendid, and larger than any where else; for to this lower Order we have been describing, they add another, and sometimes a third, which bear Proportion and exact Symetry with each other.

Their Temples represent no great Bulk to the Beholders, nor exalt themselves much towards Heaven, unless some Obelisks,¹ which are sometimes joined with, at other times separate from them: But most an end they observe this Form; The Foundation being laid in a Square, the Roof is supported by four Pillars, in whose middle a great Cupilo lifts up its Head, which the Priests visit Day and Night at every Fourth Hour to call the people to Prayers; the Whole participates more of *Mosaick* than any other Work. In the Dome is no Ornaiment, nor Seat; on the Ground Mats are strewed; any manner of Carving or Representation whatsoever is banish'd hence.

From the *Pomerium* to the outward Court they ascend by Steps, where they bare their Feet, alluding to the Command in *Moses* his Vision, *Pull off thy shooes, for the place whereon thou standest is holy Ground.*² As soon as they

¹ By "obelisk" he seems to mean the minaret (*mazinah*, or *manirah*) from which the mu'azzin invites the people to prayer. These sometimes form part of the mosque: sometimes, like the famous Qutb Minar in old Delhi, detached.

² "The Muslim as he enters the mosque stops at the barrier and takes off his shoes, carries them in his left hand, sole to sole" (Hughes, *Dict. Islam*, 329).

have washed themselves in the Porch, where always is a Baptistry, or Tank for that purpose,¹ they pluck off their upper Garments, especially if they be Cloth of Gold, for Gold also is to them *Nigess*;² i.e. unclean; wherefore they cast from them Gold Rings, or whatever is set in Gold, not being suffered either to sleep or pray with them upon them; but at the same time they open their Silver Phylacteries and Rosaries,³ wherein in Aggat are engraven some Scraps of their *Alcoran*, and uncovering their Heads they enter their Churches, and fall down on the Ground, and as they recite their Prayers, often kiss the same, always bowing towards the rising and setting of the Sun, and agree with the *Indian Moors* in saluting their *Genii*, and then they depart; unless on their Sabbath-day, which is *Friday* every Week, the *Mullah* detain them by a Preachment,⁴ or with a Chapter out of the *Alcoran*, which he undertakes to expound by a large, and, no doubt, learned *Periphrasis*, to whom on the South-side they have appropriated a Pulpit raised on Steps, if it may be said to be one without any Desk or Rails, on which he sits, not stands, it being placed in an Oratory apart.

Sometimes they pass about by little Portals to the Door of the Temple, such an Ostle being left open, as we see in great Gates of Noblemen's Houses, that he who is about to go in, must first take heed lest he break his Shins, before

¹ The tank (*haus*) in which the ceremonial ablutions (*wuzu*) are performed, is usually in the centre of the open courtyard.

² See vol. 1, 236

³ A *subhah* "The rosary among Muhammadans consists of one hundred beads, and is used by them for counting the ninety-nine attributes of God, together with the essential name *Allah*; or the repetition of the *Tasbih* ("O Holy God!"), the *Tahmid* ("Praised be God!"), and the *Takbir* ("God is Great!"), or for the recital of any act of devotion. It is called in Persian and Hindūstānī the *Tasbih*" (Hughes, *Dict. Islam*, 546).

⁴ Ar. *Khutbah*, for the details of which see *Ibid.*, 274 ff.

⁵ In the centre of the wall of the mosque facing Mecca is the niche (*mihrāb*), to the right of which is the pulpit (*mimbar*).

he stoop to make his Entrance: This Place carries something solemn about it; when it is shut up, the Pulpit receives a small Light through Grates instead of Windows.

The Colleges in *Sphāhūn* are mostly founded and endowed by Royal Donation, partly by others.¹

There are Twenty or Thirty Fair Ones that have Incomes, and many more whose Mannors are devolved by a tacit Prescript into Secular Hands. To every College there is a President over the Students, and another over the Fabrick, who lets out the Chambers, and receives the Rents, disposing them as he pleases, and displacing at pleasure: Every Chamber has One, Two, Three, or more Students, where they sit and lye; to this the ordinary Door stands for a Window; there are no Forms or Benches, more than an old Moth-eaten Carpet, not fit for a Gypsy's Mantle, for to use, either for Repose or other purpose.

The Number of Scholars in each depends upon the Number of Chambers, and the Constancy of the Revenues, there being in some not above Forty, in others from an Hundred to an Hundred and fifty: He who is elected into these, lives sparingly and separately, not eating in common Halls, having no more allowed than two or three *Gros-becks*² a Day, which is about so many *Stivers* or Farthings, from the President; if these are not enough, then he assigns the Transcription of such and such Books to his Aid, for which they are paid. There are also three, four, or more Servants in constant Salary from the College, which any Student may of Right command to buy Fruit for their Food, and fetch them other Necessaries; who sometimes, Illiterate as they are, go away with some of the College Revenues, and are reckoned among the Students; being fitter to shooe Horses, or drive a Wain with *Vespasian's* Charioteer, than to share in that Character.

¹ Tavernier (227) describes these "Colledges" or "Medrese."

² A coin valued by Herbert at a penny (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 339).

Their *Balneos* or *Hummums*¹ are the most sumptuous, which are in all their Cities, always hot; and it is lawful for every one of both Sexes, on stated times of the Day to bath for a small Price: The Prepositor of each House gives Notice to all Comers by blowing an Horn, when the Houses are ready to attend them; of which there are innumerable destined to these uses, each striving to outshine the other; insomuch that no time either of Day or Night passes, but you shall hear perpetual Noises of Horns to invite you to them; for no sooner is the Fire kindled under them, but they let every one know by those loud Instruments.

In which Places the Treatment is alike to all; for as before was said in the Church and Inns, so in the Hot-Houses all things are common to all: Wherefore if any one desire to be freed from the Vulgar Rout, he must hire an House for a whole Day; which may be done, if he pay the usual Expence and Income of that Day, which Christians are always obliged to, where they have not *Balneos* of their own to resort to; for the *Persians* presume too Pharisaically on these Baths, judging thereby all their Offences to be washed away; according to that of *Lactantius*, *Flagitiis omnibus inquinati veniunt, & semet sacrificasse opinantur, si cutem laverint; tanquam libidines intra pectus inclusas, ulla annis abluat aut maria ulla purifcent*: They come polluted with the heinousest Sins, and think when they have washed they have attoned by a sufficient Sacrifice; as if any River or Sea could purify their Lusts included in their Hearts.

These Houses are beneath the Earth, only some little

¹ See vol. i, 214. For Persian baths, see Morier, *Second Journey*, 59: Wills, 334: Benjamin, 90; and in other Muhammadan countries, Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*, ii, 36: Schuyler, *Turkistan*, ii, 93 f. It is still the custom to blow a horn when the bath is ready. Prof. Browne (390) quotes a popular verse which ends: *Bīgh zādānd: nāwbat-i-hammūn risid,* "They are blowing the horn; the time for the bath has come." Notice was given in the same way for the Roman baths—*Redde pilam; sonat aēs thermarum; ludere pergis* (Martial, xiv, 163).

round Globes embellish'd with Painted Glass peep out above the Ground to give Light, and are well clos'd, lest the ambient Air should offend by too forcible a Ventilation through any neglected Crevise: Thcy are built with divers distinct Cells one from another, in which Men sit, are rubbcd, and cleansed: Immediately within the Porch is the greatest Cell, or rather a large Room, where they d'off their Cloaths, and being undressed leave their Garments; in the middle of this Place is a Cystern of cold Water coming into it by several Pipes: All the other Cells are so conveniently framed, that every one may breathe a different Air as to the degrees of Heat, such as may suit with the divers Temperamcnts of sevral Bodies, since every Constitution requires not the same Bath: For as Galen has left it written *in lib. 7. Morb. Med.* Some want an Hot, others a Tepid, and othcrs a Cold Bath, as Hcctical Habits dcclare.

The Pavements are all Marble, on which, the more Hot Water is thrown, the more it increases the Heat, although at the same time the Subterranean Fire be as Hot as it can be: On these Marble Floors they at last extend themselves, when they think they have tarried in long enough, that the Barbers, whose business it is, should wind and turn every Limb and Joint of the Body, before, behind, and on every side, with that Dexterity and Slight, that it is admirable to bchold them perform it; whereby they leave no Muscle, Nerve, or superficial Joint, eithcr unmov'd, or not rubb'd: Then with a course Hair-cloth and Hot Water they scrap off all the Filth and Sweat; and last of all by a Depilatory they take clean away all manncr of Hairs growing either in Secret Parts, or any Emunctuary to cause either nasty Smells, or troublesome chafing.

When they retire to put on their Cloaths, (this is to bc only understood of Great Men) there waits them a Collation of Fruit, Sweetmeats, and variety of Perfumes, as

Rosewater, Rackbeet,¹ and the like, with all befitting Attendants, besides the usual Servitors, to administer either Coho.² Tea, Tobacco, or Brandy, if faint. When they are dress'd, they emplaister their Feet and Hands with a Red Paste, which wonderfully help sweaty and moist Palms, as also stinking Feet.

These things being premised, the Benefits coming from the use of these are, when the Body is inflamed and dried by immoderate Heat, it is finely refreshed by sweet Water, and the Pores become moisten'd; the farther prosecution of which Advantages having been spoken of before, I refer you thither, and proceed to the other Houses of Resort, which are only for the Men, and not for the Women.

Their Coffee-houses, where they sell *Coho*, better than any among us, which being boiled, has a Black Oil or Cream swimming at top, and when it has not, they refuse to drink it: Hither repair all those that are covetous of News, as well as Barterers of Goods; where not only Fame and common Rumour is promulg'd, but Poetry too, for some of that Tribe are always present to reherse their Poems, and disperse their Fables to the Company; so true is it, οὐ παρεῖται πράγματα, *Ex Otio Negotium*. That their Business proceeds from Idleness.

They are modell'd after the Nature of our Theatres, that every one may sit around, and suck choice Tobacco out of long *Malabar* Canes,³ fasten'd to Chrystal Bottles, like the Recipients or Bolt-heads of the Chymists, with a narrow Neck, where the Bole or Head of the Pipe is inserted, a shorter Cane reaching to the bottom, where the long Pipe meets it, the Vessel being filled with Water: After this sort they are mightily pleased; for putting fragrant and delightful Flowers into the Water, upon every attempt to draw

Willow water; see vol. ii, 162.

² Coffee, vol. i, 219.

¹ The *naichah* of India.

Tobacco, the Water bubbles, and makes them dance in various Figures, which both qualifies the Heat of the Smoke, and creates together a pretty Sight.

At Night here are abundance of Lamps lighted, and let down in Glasses from the Concave Part of the Roof, by Wires or Ropes, hanging in a Circle.

The Buzzars having been mentioned before, I shall only add, That however Great all their other Buildings are, yet these carry away the Glory from them all; as much as the Halls of the Citizens of *London* exceed Noblemens Houses about the City, being the Work and Business of Joint-Stocks; and their Shews and Entertainments are as Pompous as Princes, however sparingly they live at their own Homes: For these being the joint Advantage both of the Emperor and his Subjects, he encourages their forwardness in adorning these, though he suppresses all their Extravagancy of Garb, or Exorbitancy in Building, if it bears not with it the becoming Design of giving him the greatest Share of Honour in the Foundation.

Their Bridges are made either of Brick or Stone, and want neither for Skill or Ornament in their Contrivance; and are chiefly built for Ostentation, or to preserve their Memories, as their other great Buildings are: They are of more Use to join divided Rocks for Passengers, than to lay over Rivers; the former of which are more frequent in the Road to the Port than the other.

CHAP. XII.

Of the present Inhabitants; of the Jews being interspersed ever since the Captivity of Babylon; the custom of excommunicating their Princes; Nobility among the Persians; the Esteem they have of the Emperor's Person being Divine; his Name and Succession: Of the English overthrowing the Portugals at Ormus; the Procession of the Court; its Grandeur, and Reception of Ambassadors: Of the Suffees; of their Cavalry, Infantry, Seamen, and Navy.

THE Inhabitants of this City, as well as of all *Persia* (the Ancient Stock being, as it were, extinct) spring from the Overflow of the *Northern Scythians*, by whom the Native *Persians* were either totally expell'd, or so suppress'd, as to remain of no Account among them: These notwithstanding, by the Benefit of the Climate, have chang'd so much of their innate Roughness, as they have acquired the more coruscant Beauty inherent in the Temper of the Air; for they are of a delicate Composure of Body, Tall and Strait, especially the Women, who though not generally so proper, yet excel in Softness of Texture, and Comeliness of Form: Their Outside is no false Indication of their Natural Ingenuity, which exceeds all the *Eastern* People both for Facetiousness of Wit, Civil Behaviour, and Gallantry in Appearance, as much as they do the Barbarous *Africans*.

They cohabit generally with their Relations together in one House, or at least as near one the other as it is possible.

Jews are among them of the same Antiquity as the Exportation from *Jerusalem* to *Babylon*, who live in the same Cities, though in distinct Streets,¹ and with less Mark of

¹ As early as A.D. 931 Ispahān was divided into the Yahūdiya, or Jews' quarter, and the Shahrīstān or Madīnah the city proper (Curzon, ii, 21). For the condition of the Jews in Persia, *Ibid.* i, 510.

Reproach here than elsewhere: But how far their Liberties extend, I pretend not to tell; only they congregate on their Sabbaths, New Moons, and Feast days, in full Synagogues, without any Disturbance.

Here are store of *Banyans*,¹ dwelling in their great Inns, but degenerate from the strict *Indian Banyans*, indulging themselves in most sorts of Flesh, and all kind of Wines.

In this City of *Spahau*, besides the *Romish* Monks, Us, the *Belgian* Representative, and the *Polish* Ambassador, are no Christians suffered to live; the rest repair to *Jelfa* among the *Armenians*, unless accidentally some Strangers tarry a Night or two in a *Caravan Ser Raw*, which are the Receptacles of all Foreigners.

These being of a lower Orb, creep safely on the Ground, while those exalted to an higher Sphere, like Fortune its self, are set on slippery Places, and are deprived of their Eye-sight.² Long since that Barbarity has been exploded here, which as soon as the Witnesses of Virility appeared, to testify their being Men not of an Hours Birth, or of a Minutes rather, were delivered to bloody Villains, crueler than Beasts, (whose unrelenting Mercy spar'd not the Royal Infants Cries) to make away inhumanly, or at least suddenly dispatch them. Such is the fatal necessity of Tyrants, that least can credit those that are most allied to them; which addition to their Crimes they think is somewhat extenuated by excusing them only at this Court; whereby they are

¹ The Hindu merchants residing in Persia come chiefly from Shikarpur and other towns in Sind.

² "The King deceasing and leaving male Issue behind him, the Eldest ascends the Throne, while his Brothers are kept in the *Haram*, and their eyes are put out" (Tavernier, 219, who describes the operation). The practice was common in Persia. On the death of Safi Mirzā, the two remaining sons of 'Abbās were blinded (Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, i, 375, who gives numerous instances down to quite modern times—ii, 43, 89, 125, 181, 183, 204, 305, 323). For other Persian instances, see Barbosa, 44: Linschoten, i, 46. It also prevailed in India. Humāyūn caused the punishment to be inflicted on Muhammad Sultān Mirzā, the operation in his time being inflicted either with a

render'd incapable of the Throne, (being to be presented to the Supreme Government, like the *Levites* in the Old Law, without Blemish, being whole in every Member): But certainly those are bound up in hard Circumstances, who to avoid Disputes of Succession of the Crown, unmercifully butcher Tender Innocents, hurrying them to Execution as soon as they have escaped Imprisonment from their Mothers Womb: On this Basis the Old Monarchy of the *Persians* was founded, as if no other Cement could so firmly knit, as Blood.

And at this Instant their Jealousy is so fervent, that they keep their Sons like Captives, till the Father's Death enlarges the Eldest; when the Younger Brothers, Uncles, and Nephews on both sides, on the Appearance of the Rising Sun, see their last; As if the Blood-Royal were prophan'd, unless they fled to the Hot Iron, as the only means to expiate for its Affinity; which being drawn over the most sensible Parts (their Eyes), strikes from the Rays of their Kinsman's Diadem such a Sparkling Lustre, as for ever after makes them irrecoverably blind; to seek Recovery whereof, or any for them, is a Treason unpardonable. So abhorrent are they of a Partner or a Rival in Empire, that they endure not any to emulate or outdo them by an over-forward Strain of Loyalty, whereby they might seem obliged to their Subjects, or that they should outshine them by a Popular Affection, however meritorious their Deeds have been; whereby they teach their Children perfect Obedience, before they permit them to think of Command.

But whether by this way it is best; to be conversant with

heated plate or pencil of brass or iron, or with the lancet (Erskine, *H. of India*, ii, 13 f.) The Emperor Jahāngīr put out the eyes of Bulāqī or Dawar Bakhsh (Tavernier, ed. Ball, ii, 334). Pyrard de Laval (ii, Pt. I, 137) mentions the practice. Aurangzib put out the eyes of the Mahratta princes, Sambhā and Kabkalas (Elliot, *H. of India*, vii, 341).

Toothless Old Women, Ignorant and Effeminate Eunuchs, a Tutor more versed in Books than the Affairs of the World, and all these bound in the highest Allegiance to their Liege, is a fitter Topick for the *Machiavilians* of our Age, than for me to handle. Although *Plutarch* has delivered this as a Maxim to Posterity, Those who are generously and Princely instructed, let them be compared with these, and the difference will presently discover its self which is the more eligible Education: But for the Good of the Chief Ministers of State, it is more profitable, I confess, to keep their Princes Judgments always in Minority, provided they can thereby make them more pliable to their Ends and Designs.

Contrary to the Principles of the rest of the *East*, Nobility is regarded and maintained among the *Persians*, confiding rather in their Homebred Honesty, than entertaining Mercenary Foreigners in their Armies, to whose Fidelity and Conduct most other Countries commit their greatest Strength, while these rely on their own Subjects: For though they claim Nobility of Race, yet they are not of the same Stock with the Royal Line, and therefore (content to move beneath) aspire not to the Top of Empire; nor can they stretch out their Hands to the Diadem, without apparent Usurpation, which those of an Equal Order would oppose, as having as good a Title thereto as the bold Violator himself; which they who are of a more sublime Spirit would never brook, much less bear such an Indignity, or pay Homage and Respect to One they must have in Scorn and Contempt. On this Account it is they have ample Lordships assigned them, which they possess by Inheritance and Lawful Right, with the same Tenor as our Barons, who are before others in Wealth and Honour, but are something restrained in their Power, lest they should take up Arms against their King.

The Emperor often rewards these with great Offices and

high Employments, where he finds Desert meet with the Grandeur of their Birth; gracing them with his Commands the rather, because (to their Eternal Renown be it spoken) they seldom desert their Sovereign, or prove unfaithful to the Throne: So innate a Stedfastness being ingrafted in their Souls, to conform themselves to their Master's Wills, that they are always found obsequious; which if it be not altogether to be attributed to their Virtue, must admit of the Dread the Anger of their Emperor impresses (being like the Roaring of a Lion), which frights the trembling Herds among the Woods; for their Lives are immediately at his Dispose, which keeps them in Awe.

They esteem their Emperors not only as Lords Paramount, but reverence them as Sons of the Prophets, whose Dominion therefore is grounded more on Hierarchy than bare Monarchy. For as of old the *Persians* adored the Sun as a Deity, and celebrated his rising with Morning Hymns, and were daily employed in Sacred Anthems to its Praise; so now from Idolaters becoming Infidels, they still espouse the Divine Right as well as Lineage of their Sovereigns: From which fond Belief, the Potentest General at the Head of a Puissant Army, or the Provincial *Cauns*, though surrounded with Legions of Soldiers, upon the Arrival of a single *Chiper* (that is, a Post with Royal Order), attended with no other Warrant than being one of the King's Creatures, and he pronouncing Death from the Emperor, they lay down their Heads without any Tumult, with an entire Resignation to their Master's Pleasure.

And what is yet more ungrateful to men of their Jealousy, (it being so base and dishonest, that no Reparation can be made among the *Moors* for an Indignity of that kind) if he commands them on the great Festival (begun by *Ahasuerus*, and continued to this Day by the *Persian* Monarchs, an Hundred and Fourscore Days every Year) to bring their own proper Wives to Court, to remain there all that time

prostitute to his Lust; this so hated a thing they are so far from refusing, that they obey him in every thing, no less than an Immortal God.'

From which piece of Service, no Man that is known to have an Handsome Woman to his Wife, is exempted; for after his Pimps and Panders have had the Scent, he is not long from the Hunt with a full Cry: To that end, in whatsoever Quarter of the City the Puss squats, he sets up his Crook,² or Interdict, that no Man presume to stay within doors, till he be passed whither he intends; but in the mean while, the Females are permitted, nay, commanded to stay at home, and so he comes and finds the Form, and then is sure not to miss of his Game. But to close up this; so devoted are they to him, that as the Ancient *Hebrews* swore by their King's Health; the *Egyptians*, by the Life of *Pharaoh*; the *Romans*, by *Cesar's* Honour; they have no more obliging Test, than *Scir Pedshaw*, By the Emperor's Head.'

¹ Fryer refers to the acts of the dissipated Shāh Sūfi II or Shāh Sulaimān (A.D. 1668-1694). Compare the fairs held in the seraglio of the Mughal Emperors of India, instituted by Akbar (*Alīn*, i, 276 f.) and continued by Shāh Jahān, of which Bernier (272 f.) gives a lively account.

² Ar. *gurg*. "When the King gives notice of his intention to carry his Wives into the Country, this is called *Courouk*; and there is nothing more troublesome nor more inconvenient in the world to the poor people that live in the villages through which these women are to pass: for upon notice giv'n them, they must leave their Houses for a League or two of either side. When there is a *Courouk* at *Iyahan*, let the weather be never so bad, the people must leave their Houses, and if they have no friends in some distant quarter to retire to, they have no way but to repair to the Mountains" (Tavernier, 206). The classical instance is that of Alaeddin: "By command of our magnificent master . . . let all the folk lock up their shops and stores and retire within their houses, for that the Lady Badr-al-Budūr, daughter of the Sultan, deigneth to visit the Hammām, and whoso gainsayeth the order shall be punished with death-penalty, and be his blood upon his own neck" (Burton, *Ar. Nights*, x, 66 f.; and compare the proceedings of that wilful beauty, the wife of the jeweller, *Ibid.* vii, 319). Sultān Kutb-ud-din of Gujarat was killed in a struggle with a man who showed himself when the royal ladies visited the city of Ahmadābād (Bayley, *Dynasties*, 157). For other Indian instances, see Manucci, i, 220, iv, 286 f.; Fanny Parkes, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim*, ii, 6 f. Fryer refers again to the custom later on in this chapter.

' Pers. *ba sar-i-pādīshāh*. On the sanctity of the king's head, s c

On these Terms it is, that the Affairs at home, and of the Militia abroad, are so negligently treated, by the Emperor's being thoroughly assured of his Peoples Integrity and Allegiance; all the strong Castles and Places through the whole Realm hereupon being demolished, or lying in Ruins; unless some few near the Confines of *Turky*, and *Candahar*, taken from the *Indians*; slighting them only as Nests for Thieves and Robbers, well knowing when it comes to the Push, the Mountains will prove the better Security: Nor is the Army at present in a much forwarder Posture for Fight, it being vilely defective in its Musters; but the worst provided of all are the Fleets in either Seas.

When at the same time the Treasury never more abounded in Cash, holding thereby the Sinews of War in his own hands; for which reason he sleeps, while the Burthen of the Kingdom is rejected, and the Weight thereof lies on the Chancellor's Shoulders. He has not for these Eleven Months past stirred out of his Palace, nor on any occasion shewed himself in publick; which hath created matter of doubt to the Populacy, whether he be well, or seized with any Distemper: But those that are better informed (for even the Actions of Princes cannot escape being canvass'd, however absolute they are) suspect him to be wallowing in his Libidinous Course of Life.

He lives like a Tyrant in his Den; for his Domesticks and his Whores, with whom he commits Bestialities (which are innumerable) often feel his Cruelty by unheard of Tortures; as witness the dilacerated Bodies found after the

Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² i, 162 ff. "Such is their transcendent opinion of his Majesty, that they repute no lesse of him, than in old times they did of their Elementall Gods: they swear usually by his name, *Shambashy* or *Serry-Shaw*, i.e. by the King's head, and is of no lesse force to beget belief than if they ratified a truth by *Serry-Mortis-Ally*, i.e. Morti's Ally's [see vol. i, 93] head, a Prophet than whom they think non greater: or by putting a finger to their eye, and saying 'Chash, the King sees'" (Herbert, 239). Cf. Morier, *Second Journey*, 193.

¹ Shāh Sulaimān for many years secluded himself in his Hājam (Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, i, 397).

Removal of his Tents on any Progress; in confirmation whereof are many living Examples about this City, of those that have been his Menial Servants, conversant about his necessary Affairs, who slipping in any one Point, are daily to be seen escaping with their Lives, but not without the loss of some Member, sacrific'd to the Rage of an unreasonable Master. He is a Winebibber and a Drunkard; they reporting, That he is able, after his full Dose has already made him reel, to drink a large Flask, more than a Gallon, of *Siraz* Wine, before he can be said to finish this Exploit by a silent consenting to have had enough: Nor can Sleep heal him, for as soon as he hath outworn his Dose, he with most greedy haste returns to his Vomit before he comes to himself; or if by chance he happen to be sober, the Brute gets up, and he is lost among the Women: To crown all, he is cursedly Covetous, beneath the Majesty of so great a Monarch, repining even at ordinary Expences: Whose Name, for fear it should perish, we come next to mention.

The Emperor's Name is *Shaw Schelymon*, or King *Solomon*, the Son of *Shaw Abas*; not of him that was truly stiled the Great; but however, he may be called, The Good, being a Lover of Christians; by the Father's side, of the *Sophian Extract*; by the Mother's, of the House of *Georgia*, which Illustrious Dame still lives the Relict of her Worthy Husband; so that he is sprung from Kings of long Continuance: Which to understand the more clearly, we are to unfold the Succession from *Sardanapalus* his Reign, the last from *Nimrod*: After his killing himself, the Empire was divided into the Monarchy of the *Assyrians*, *Chaldeans*, and *Medes*.

Begun by *Arbaces*¹ in the Year of the World, 3146, and ended by *Cyrus*, who restored the Ancient Honour to the

¹ *Arbaces*, general of *Sardanapalus*, founded the Median Empire in 876 B.C.

Persian Sway; to whom succeeded *Cambyses*. After him, the Impostor *Smerdis*¹ obtained the Kingdom by the Craft of the *Magi*, until the Noble *Otanes*² discovered him not to be the true and lawful Brother of *Cambyses*. When by the general Suffrage it was agreed, That he of Seven Competitors should be Emperor, whose Horse should Neigh first after they came to the Place appointed for the Choice; which Lot fell upon *Darius Hydaspes*, through the Cunning of his Groom, who caused his Masters Horse to Leap a Mare the Day before in the same Place. From him *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes Longimanus* were elevated to the Supreme Dignity; from whom *Darius the Mede*, vanquished by *Alexander*, was the Fifth in order; at whose Decease the Power was distracted among the Captains of the Conqueror; till *Artabaces* reunited it to *Parthia* first of all; then *Artaxerxes*, by *Caracalla* and *Macrinus*³ their Treacheries, cutting off *Artabanus* the last *Parthian* King, again Enthroned the *Persians*; who alternately reigned the space of Eight and twenty Kings, and then obscured by the Confluence of the *Saracens*; who continued till the Year of our Redemption, 1030;⁴ in which they implored *Tangrloplex* and the *Turk* to accept the Royal Seat; from whose Promotion *Cussanus* was the Third, who was expelled in the Year 1202 by the Great *Cham*.⁵ *Haalam*⁶ who was the first

¹ For the pseudo-Smerdis see Herodotus, iii, 61.

² Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, "who for rank and wealth was equal to the greatest of the Persians" (*Ibid.*, iii, 68).

³ For the insurrection of Artaxerxes, and the proceedings of Caracalla and Macrinus, see Rawlinson, *Seventh Or. Mon.* 13 f.

⁴ In this year Masaud, son of Mahmud of Ghazni, was defeated by the Seljuk Turks, and their chief, Toghrol, assumed the throne in A.D. 1037. Stevens (p. 292) calls their leader Togorek, or Togozelbek, of which Fryer's Tangrloplex is probably a variant.

⁵ The Mongol conquest of Persia under Jenghiz Khān occurred in this year (Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, i, xx, 253).

⁶ It is difficult to reconcile Fryer's account with historical facts. By "Haalam" he may mean Hulāgū or Hulākū (1259-1264): by "Abuzaid" Abū Saïd (1316-1335).

constituted King of the *Tartarian* Race: From him *Abuzaid* was the Ninth, who dying, they strove among themselves for the Kingdom; when *Gemsus* delivered himself and his Countrey from the Slavery it groaned under;¹ whose Progeny at last *Tamberlane*, or *Timurlan*, extirpated. *Timurlan's* Dynasty being soon spent, *Cussane* the *Armenian* presently put an end to that Stock, in the Year 1471; who gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Adir Sophi*,² or rather *Suffee*, which signifies White; in *Arabic*, *Suffet*;³ wherefore *Spahaun* is corruptly so called, it being in the *Persian Language* *Suffahaun*, or the City of the Whites; which since the Irruption of *Tamerlane*, the *Scythians* affect as well here as in *India*, (*Mogul*, as we have said, signifying no more in *Indostan*); which I purposely insert, having promised before to give the reason why this City should be called *Suffahaun*, as the *Persians* now do call it, and not *Spahaun*, or *Ispahaun*, as Strangers pronounce it.⁴

Craving leave for this Digression; *Adir Suffee*, the Son of *Guin*⁵ *Suffee*, receiving *Cussane's* Daughter as his Wife, was enabled to revive the lost Caliphship, a long while continued in his Family (tho obscurely), deriving it from *Musa Ceresa*,⁶ one of *Hali's* Twelve Successors; from which time till then it lay buried, as well by their own Divisions, as the Malice of the *Turks*, who disown that Extract of the Caliph-

¹ He possibly refers to the struggles of Husain Buzurg, Awais, and Jalāl-ud-dīn (Malcolm, i, 281 ff.). Timūr Lang crossed the Oxus to invade Persia in A.D. 1384.

² Possibly Haidar, father of Shāh Ismāil (1499-1525), the first of the Sufī dynasty (Malcolm, i, 320 n.).

³ The surname of Sūfī or Safī is supposed to have been derived from their famous ancestor Shaikh Safī-ud-dīn (Malcolm, i, 320; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 855).

⁴ The name Ispahān or Isfahān, probably the Aspadana of Ptolemy (vi, 4), is perhaps derived from Aspiyan, the family name of the race of Feraidun (Curzon, ii, 20).

⁵ Perhaps Juned (Stevens, 337).

⁶ Perhaps Mūsā-al-Kāzim, the seventh Shī'ah Imām (Malcolm, i, 320 n.).

ship with the same Inveteracy to each others Claims, as among us Papists and Protestants we dispute about the Lawful Successor of our Saviour; for *Haly* took the Daughter of the false Prophet *Mahomet* to Wife, and thence took upon him and bore away the Succession of the Caliphs amongst the *Persians*; Repudiating *Abubeguer*, or *Abubesar*, *Omor* and *Osman*, in right of *Mahomet's* Brother, with all the *Turkish* Followers;¹ and thus the *Suffean* proclaim *Mortis Haly* the next of Kin, being Son-in-law to *Mahomet*, and in that Right Lawfully inducted into the Caliphship; and though hereby in process of time the Caliphship and Empire were united, *Adir Suffee* maintaining his Claim and his Sons, at last got honourably enough into the Throne; yet here arose matter of perpetual Animosity, never to be extinguished, while the *Omerans*, whence spring the *Ottoman* Family and Sect, still Oppose, Contradict, and Persecute the *Suffean* Sect.

Insomuch that the last *Imaum*, or the last of the Twelve false Apostles, from *Haly*, by Name *Mahomet Mehdi Saeb Elsamon*,² i.e. *The Lord of Times*, being taken by the Snares of the *Omerans* they would have slain him; when (say the *Persians*) God rendred him Invisible, and retains him out of harms way, and Alive, till *Beggae* come; which with us is rendred *Antichrist*;³ then the *Lord of Times* shall appear and shall reduce all those that are led away by Magical Inchantments, into the right way; declaring moreover, *Christ Hazare Taissa*⁴ at that time shall be

¹ The Shi'ahs regard as their lawful Imâms those who are descended from 'Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet, and his wife Fâtimah, the Prophet's daughter; rejecting Abû Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Usmân. For *Mortis Haly* see vol. i, 93.

² According to the Shi'ahs, Al-Mahdî, "the Directed One," "the Guide," has already appeared in the person of Muhammad Abu'l-Qâsim, the twelfth Imâm. Sâhib-ul-zamân, "Lord of the age."

³ Al-Masihu'd Dajjâl, the "lying Christ" or Antichrist: see the account in the Mishkât (Hughes, *Dict. Islâm*, 328 f.).

⁴ Hazrat-i-Îsa, "the Lord Jesus."

restored to the Living, and be received by *Mahomet Mehdi* into his Service; that by his Prayers and Meritorious Intercession, he, with all the Faithful *Mahometans*, may be partakers of eternal Glory at the Day of Judgment. Not understanding in the mean time, that *at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, both of things above and things below; and that there is no other name given in earth or heaven whereby we can be saved.*

And while the *Turks* and *Persians* contend at this rate, it is alone the pretence of an everlasting War, while the *Persians* Espouse the *Sufsee*, being uncertain where to place the Caliphship after the Assassination of *Mahomet Mehdi*, and the *Inter-regnum* thence ensuing, better than on this *Adir Sufsee*, who though he was slain by *Cussance* his Successors, was afterwards revenged by *Ismael* his Son, who was first saluted King of *Persia*, as well as acknowledged Caliph by right of Consanguinity; obtaining the first by right of Conquest Two hundred Years and more, after the Caliphship was covered in the Embers of Oblivion raked up, and in the *Persian* Annals is set down;

Shaw Ismael Mossy; whom follows

Shaw Tomage; after him

Shaw Mahmud Condubad; then

*Shaw Abas the Great:*¹

Who when he had enlarged his Dominions from the *Persian* Gulf to the *Caspian* Sea; and lastly, when he was about to wage War with the Sea it self, in the Year 1610, or thereabouts, having not one Port in the Bay of *Persia* before the Arrival of an *English* Ship, sent out by the Company of Merchants Trading then to this Place, Commanded by Captain *Joseph Wedal*, when *England* was at Wars with *Portugal*, and *Imaum Cooly Caun*, the famous Warrier-

¹ The successors of Shāh Ismāīl were: Shāh Tāmāsp (A.D. 1525-1575); Shāh Ismāīl II (1575-77); Muhammad Khudābandah (1577-85); Shāh 'Abbās reigned from 1586 to 1628.

General of the Emperor of *Persia's* Forces, was then set down against *Ormus*,¹ and all the Harbours the *Portugals* had in Possession on this side the Gulf; which Ship of our Nation coming in, the Captain was implored to Assist the *Persians* against his and the Emperor's Enemies; which the General asking, the Sea Captain consented to.

First Stipulating,² That the *Persian* Soldiers should not meddle with the Spoils before the *English* Mariners were satisfied; (which were such of all sorts of Jewels, Gold and Silver, that they refused to carry off any more).

Secondly, That *Bunder Abassee*, now *Gombroon*, should Yearly divide Half the Customs between the *English* and *Persians*, and that whatever *English* Ship should enter the Port should be free from any manner of Tribute.

Thirdly, That it should be Lawful for them to Transport Twenty Horses, of which Number Two might be Mares, Yearly.

Provided First, That the *English* should keep Two Men of War constantly to defend the Gulf. And,

Secondly, That they should deliver the *Portugals* Forts into the *Persians* hands; in doing which the *English* should always be esteemed the Emperor's Friends. And,

Lastly, Should have the First Seat in the Council, and

¹ *Ormus* was captured on 1 February, 1622, by five ships and four pinnaces of the English Company under the command of Capts. Blyth and Weddell (Low, *H. of the Indian Navy*, i, 34-42). Herbert (115) gives their names—Weddall, Blyth, and Woodcock. The Persians were under the command of Imām Quli Khān, governor of Fars (Malcolm, i, 361; Hunter, *H. of British India*, i, 329; and, in particular, Foster, *English Factories in India, 1622-1623*. Intro., vii ff., where the contemporary accounts are carefully summarized).

The conditions were: "1. The Castle of *Ormus* (in case it were won) with all the Ordnance and Ammunition to accrue to the English. 2. The Persians were to build another Castle in the Ile at their owne cost, when and where they pleased. 3. The spoile to be equally divided. 4. The Christian prisoners to be disposed of by the English: the Pagans by the Persians. 5. The Persians to allow for halfe the charges of victuals, wages, shott, powder, &c. 6. And the English to be Custom free in *Bander-gum-broon* for ever" (Herbert, 115).

their Agents be looked on with equal Grace to their Prime Nobility.

The Articles being Ratified on either side, the Enterprise is undertaken; though of it self it was too great an Action for one Ship to perform, or even a well-appointed Navy, had they been upon their Guard (or any Commander to Promise without the Consent of the King his Master) wherefore the *English* betake themselves to Stratagem, and gaining leave to Careen their Ship under their Guns, whilst the *Portugals* dreamt nothing less, they poured in Men (the *Persians* being hid under Deck) at unawares, that they were put into a Consternation before they could think of their Defence; whereby they became Masters presently of the Castle, strengthned both by Sea and Land, by this unexpected Attempt Vanquished, which otherwise was Invincible; being possessed whereof by this Rape, the rest of the Island soon fell prostrate to the Lust of the Surprisers; and the *English* having got their Booty, left the Christians (Oh Impiety)! to be spoiled by the Infidels.

Which thing, as it gained us Esteem among the *Persians*, was the utter Ruin of the *Lusitanian* Greatness, it ever since declining, and is almost at its fatal Catastrophe; for immediately upon this, their Fleet before *Muschat* is Defeated, and they were driven out of all their strong Places in the Gulf, so that the Loss was greater than if they had lost *Mosambique*, from whence they have their Gold; because all the Trade of the World centred here, all Merchandise both going and coming paid them Tribute; that the Wealth of this place thus entred was incredible; yet to see the just Vengeance (where private Avarice and Pelf is preferred before Virtue and Honesty, and a due Respect to the only Supreme Deity) overtakes those Wretches who were the cause of their Overthrow. How it fell out with the *Persians*, who seemed to have the juster

Cause, I cannot tell; but some of Those People now alive, who were the Undoers of These, are as Miserable, and it may be more, than those they made so; the Captain's Children having been known to go anights to the Brew-house for Grains for their Subsistence, and the rest of them who are still surviving are the unhappy scorn of all that know them; whereas they thought by this deed to have purchased a lasting Fame, and lived to have enjoyed their Ill-got Goods; which how it did thrive at home, those from whose Information I take this, have been, in part, Eye-witnesses; but here I am sure, at this time both *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Turks*, fare the better for it, while they have divided among themselves what was entirely the *Portugals*; the *Persians* in the mean while doing what they please with us, so that at this present, all things considered, they allow us little more than a Name; but even here the truth must be confessed, it is because we have no Ships to guard the Gulf; which if done, and the *Persians* could be made to stand to their first Terms, in my Opinion must turn to a good account, and be a thing of greater concern than can be well managed by less than a Royal Company; though as things now stand they have free recourse to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, this Sea being open, which was always kept shut by the *Portugals*, to their no small profit.

This Emperor, *Shaw Abas*, in whose time this was Atchiev'd, was Coteemporary with our King *James I*, who had been happy in a Son, if the Fates had not envied so great a Man his Father's Favour; but for his Virtue he reaped Hatred; for there were not wanting fawning Parasites, who abused the Emperor's Ears by spreading abroad, and casting out words, as if his son *Mirza Suffee*¹ courted

¹ Shāh 'Abbās procured the assassination of this eldest son, Safi Mirzā by a noble named Behbüd Khān. He deprived his two remaining sons of their eyesight (Malcolm, i, 373 ff.).

the Popular Air; whereupon he withdrew his Countenance, and deprived him of the common Light, by that barbarous Custom of the hot Iron drawn over his Eye-balls; but seeing that could not sufficiently break his Spirit, he having gone thus far, could not rest till he had perfected his Mortality by Poyson: Thus what Virtue had raised to full growth, Jealousy soon cut off, although he could leave no better Effigies of his Manners, Virtue, Constancy, Piety, and towardly Disposition, than his Son *Suffee*; to whom our Countryman *Dreyden* has ventured to give Immortality in his Tragedy called, *The Sophy*; which

Suffee after his Grandfather's death enjoyed the Throne; who when he gave place to Death; permitted
Shaw Abas the Good, who was the Father of
Shaw Scholymon, the present Emperor:²

Who is a Man of a good Presence, and of no mean Capacity, unless by indulging his Body he thickens his Understanding, as well as he has made his Body Gross; he is Tall and very Fleshy, so that when he stirs or laughs, all the Muscles of the Scapula, as well as Ribs, move together. In the beginning of his Reign, like another *Nero*, he gave good Specimens of his Inclinations, not unworthy the Heroes that were his Ancestors; but when he began to hearken to Flatterers, and give himself over to Idleness, he left off to Govern, and listed himself in the service of Cruelty, Drunkenness, Gluttony, Lasciviousness, and abominable Extortion, where he perpetrated things not only uncomely to be seen, but even offensive to the Ears; wherefore at his libidinous Feasts, to enquire what he transacts, or how he behaves himself, is fitter for an *Aretin* than a modest Author.

² Shāh 'Abbās (1586-1628) was succeeded by Sām Mirzā, who took the name of Shāh Süfi (1628-42): Shāh 'Abbās II (1642-66): Shāh Sulaimān (1666-94). The cruelty and licentiousness of the last are described by Stevens, 357 f., and by Malcolm, i, 394 ff.

But when he is enthroned and encompassed with the flower of his Courtiers, and gives Audience to Foreign Ministers; the manner is thus:

An Ambassador is Introduced his Presence by the Master of the Ceremonies, who instructs him and tells him his Duty; the Emperor is Seated on a Throne alone, boulstred up by Embroidered Cushions; his Counsellors are placed behind him, with Caps on, proper to the Kings and Magi of *Persia*, the Emperor being distinguished only by one White Plume of Feathers from theirs;¹ when the Ambassador enters his Presence, he makes three profound Obeyances, after which he is permitted to deliver his Message, and then produces his Presents to the Emperor, having gratified the Chief Officers before his Admission.

Those Men of Note that are Governors, or *Cauns*, stand now attending with Guns hung over their Shoulders, performing the Service of our Gentlemen Pensioners: If the Emperor is pleased to Honour the Person entring, or is pleased with the Message, he orders him to sit at his Feet, and a Table to be richly spread: About the King stand Vessels of Gold beset with Gems, and the Carpets are of high Value, one of which, not a Yard Square, I saw worth Fourscore *Thomands*; and all his Plates he Eats out of, are Gold inlaid, or beset with Jewels, as well as the Cups he Drinks out of; as *Lipsius* Notes the Custom of Old; *Capacibus gemmis inter se propinarent*: So *Lucan*, *Gemmaeque capaces excipere Merum*;² and *Cicero* confirms it in ver. 4. *Non pauca pocula ex auro, quæ ut mos est, Regibus & maxime in Syria gemmis crant distincta clarissimis.*³

¹ The feathered plume (*turrah*) was the Persian royal emblem (Malcolm, i, 437). The modern Shâh wears a plume (*jîgha*) of white heron feathers, decorated with diamonds (Wills, 50). Aurangzeb used to wear a small plume or aigrette in the middle of his turban (Manucci, ii, 342). Cf. Fanny Parkes, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim*, i, 249.

² *Gemmaeque capaces excipere merum*. *Lucan, Pharsalia*, x, 160-1.

³ *Cicero, In Verr.*, vi, 27.

Whatever Cup the Ambassador is drunk to out of by the Emperor, whether of Gold Enamelled, or beset with Jewels, it is filled with the same Liquor, and the Cup is his Fee of Right, which, first Pledging the Emperor, he receives and carries away with him: The Civility of the Court being passed, he is Clothed with his Retinue in an honourable Habit; and if the Petition be granted, he wears the *Pharmond*¹ open in his Turbat, to be seen by all as he is re-conducted from the Palace to his Lodging.

When the King pleases to Mount on Horseback, he is guarded by a mighty Band of Horsemen that follow him; before him pass a Legion of Footmen, all with Guns, and Shotters, or Pages, about his Horse in great Crouds; these all wear Feathers; the first in a kind of Hat or Steeple-Crowned Cap, the other in their Turbats, which are covered with them, but the Gunmen have only one White Plume bolt upright; the others are of any Colour, and sometimes many Colours.

When the Emperor marches out with his Women, and all the Seraglio, it is forbidden the Day before by a Publick Cryer, for any Man on pain of Death to invade his Walks; nor is it lawful for any one to stay within doors, though sick or decrepit with Age, till the Female Procession is passed by;² which observes this Order; The King, like a Dunghil Cock, struts at the Head of the *Amazonian Army*; him, his Mother follows, and the Royal Consorts, which are reckoned as Wives; all the rest, Concubines or Slaves, according to the Grace they have merited; carrying Hawks on their Fists, get a straddle on Horseback, bearing Consort to the Musick *Gereed*, i.e. Tilt and Turnament, play with

¹ *Farmān*, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 354.

² See vol. iii, 41.

the Ball as Men do. For this Effeminate Shew, *Virgil's*¹ Description for *Dido* may serve:

The early Morn had left the Sea,
And flaning Day bore Company;
When the Gelt Youth afore the doors,
Stood pimping to the King and 's Whores
With Nets and Toils for Countrey Sport,
At the *Charbaug* expect the Court;
Where in as ample manner wait
The fiery Courser, full of State;
Bedeck'd with Gold he chews the Bit,
And paws and foams as he were hit.
At length comes forth with a great Train,
The mighty Monarch through a Lane:
A Scarlet Cloak, edg'd with a Welt,
Was thrown him o're, and hid his Belt.
But the Women that went with him,
Were clad with Silk, and may be Linen.
Yet all their Hair was ti'd in Braids,
And Bow and Arrow by their sides.

If he chuse a Nocturnal Perambulation, he makes them put on the Dress of the several Nations they belong to;

Aen., iv, 129 ff. Fryer has parodied the lines:

*It portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus:
Retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro,
Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.
Reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi
Poenorum expectant, ostroque insignis et auro
Stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumanter mandit.
Tandem progreditur, magna stipante caterva,
Sidoniam picto chlamydem nodantur in aurum,
Aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.*

Europeans in Hat and Feather; *Turks, Indians, and Arabians*, in their own Habit; and having Tapers in their hands they go two and two abreast; and between every third File an Eunuch with a large Flambeaux marches, both as a Spy and Guard.

The Soldiers that are to guard the Outskirts, are relieved by a Band of Eunuchs, who line the Way for their Passage, and spare none that are led out of Curiosity to behold this Sight; but upon discovery, never examining who they are, discharge their Pieces, as if they had found a Wild Beast; for which they receive great Commendation from the King, and are rewarded with great Gifts, getting thereby into the Chief Places of Trust in the Family.

The most ready for this Mischief are the Black Eunuchs, the White being generally more sparing of Life, and less inclined to such unnatural Barbarities; wherefore he has Regiments of both, the one to serve his Pleasure, the other his Black Purpose.

Thus is the Life of this Prince taken up, rarely permitting himself to be seen either by Strangers or his own Subjects; according to that Ancient Axiom of the Empire, *Majestati major è longinquò reverentia*; as if they feared that of *Livy*, *Continuus aspectus minus verendos magnos homines facit*; Lest an often appearing to the Vulgar should make them contemptible and common.¹

But that which he least cares for, is to go forth armed at the Head of his Army, against his Enemies, chusing rather to be Terrible at Home under the *Persian* Banner, (which when displayed, is, A Bloody Sword with a double Point, in a White Field, and is always carried next the Emperor's

¹ "Accedebat quod alter decimum iam prope annum assiduus in oculis hominum fuerat, quae res minus verendos magnos homines ipsa satietate facit," said of Scipio Africanus, the younger (*Livy*, xxxv, 10). Akbar, on the contrary, used to receive the public twice a day (*Ain*, i, 156 f.), and in his last illness, to avoid an insurrection, Aurangzeb used to appear once daily (Bernier, 266).

Person¹) than become Formidable abroad to his Foes: Let others reap those hazardous Praises of Grinning Honour, he has no Stomach nor no Mind to Feats of Arms, whilst

Colorogosse, the *Generalissimo*, leads the Host.²

Corgee Bashee,³ Adjutant-General, is next him, Commander of Twelve thousand Horse.

*Min Bashee*⁴ is a Colonel of a Thousand Horse.

Eus Bashee,⁵ Captain of an Hundred Horse.

Below this Office none of Noble Extract will accept, chusing rather to ride Volunteers till they gain Preferment, being listed *Goloomy Shaws*, the King's Slaves, which is a Title they of the highest Dignity pride themselves in.

Under these, those who compose the Main Body of the

¹ This is the emblem of the sword of 'Ali (*Zi'l-fiqār*, "the divider," our Excalibur). "The Sultan's steam yacht and steam launch lie in the harbour, with a number of native craft, some of which fly the Persian ensign—the two-bladed sword of Ali" (Stack., i, 14). "Howbeit, the Persians appropriate it to *Mortys-Ally*: who with his slicing shamshir for the care of his people made it; a sword after their Cabala a hundred cubits long" (Herbert, 165).

² Turkish *Qıllar-ı-ğlästî*, "chief of the eunuchs or slaves."

³ Pers. *Qarchi-bashi*. "commander of the horse-guards or cuirassiers." "The General of the *Corchis* is call'd *Corschi-Bashi*, and ought to be one of their Body: nor can the King impose another upon them" (Tavernier, 224): Pers. *qırchi*, "an armour-bearer," the "*Kortchi Bashi*" of Sanson, "*Estat Pr̄sent du Royaume de Perse*," 1694, p. 30.

⁴ Turk. *bingbashi*, "Commander of a thousand." "The Mim-bashi commands a thousand Men" (Tavernier, 224). "The decimal division of the army was already made by Chingiz at an early period of his career, and was probably much older than his time. In fact, we find the Myriarch and Chiliarch already in the Persian armies of Darius Hystaspes. From the Tartars the system passed into nearly all the Musalman States of Asia, and the titles *Min-bashi* or *Bim-bashi*, *Yuz-bashi*, *Onbashi* still subsist not only in Turkestan, but also in Turkey and Persia" (Yule, in Marco Polo, i, 264). "The former high office of Ming Bashi, or commander of a thousand, has been abolished [in Khokand]" (Schuyler, *Turkistan*, ii, 7).

⁵ Turk. *Yüzbaşı*. "The Yux-Bashi commands a hundred" (Tavernier, 224). The term was used in the Mughal armies (*Āīn*, i, 22, 147).

Cavalry, are the *Cusle Basches*,¹ or with us, the Chevaliers; who are not left quite without hopes of rising by a just Desert, for the Prize lies open to them as well as others: and they are often advanced on that score to great Authority, both to animate them to atchieve, and their Superiors to prevent their being put over their heads; for, *Ubi honos non est, ibi cupiditas glorie esse non potest*: Where Honour is not the Recompence, there can hardly be a desire of Glory. Wherefore of these are made Sub-centurions, Commanders of Fifty, and so downwards to Ten Horses.

These, agreeable to the Old *Scythian* Custom, smite their Enemies with Arrows at a distance, and Hand to Fist fight with Sword and Spear, (though they are long since skill'd in Weapons of another nature, as Guns and Pistols.) Their Bows are shorter than ours, not made of Wood, but glutinated Horn,² which being not so long, makes them more serviceable on Horseback; but being made of Horn, they are less fit for Rainy Weather: They draw their Bows with the Thumb armed with an Horn Ring,³ not after the same manner as our Archers do. The full number of their Cavalry may be Sixty thousand Horsemen compleat, many whereof are double-hors'd; out of so great a Strength, Six thousand Horsemen are upon constant Duty every day.

More than these, as a *Guard du Corps* to the King's Majesty, when he is to take the Air abroad (within doors they are Footmen, abroad Horsemen) a select Band wait on his Person, of the same Race with the King, challenging

¹ Turk. *gizil-bāsh*, "red-head" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 497). In Central Asia it means any Shi'ah, more especially one from Persia or Khu-rāsān: in the sixteenth century it meant a Persian generally (Ney Elias, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 214 n.).

² See vol. i, 349.

³ For the bow-ring see vol. i, 336, ii, 60. The *Āīm* (ii, 281) speaks of finger guards for bow-strings made of the hide of the rhinoceros.

Kindred with *Adir Suffee*,¹ but of a lower Stock than to conspire against the Empire, and are therefore bound in a common Tye of Consanguinity to preserve a firm Faith for the Head of their Tribe, as well as the Common Father of the Countrey: And since their Pretence reaches no higher than a Superstitious Affinity, or Adoption rather, the Throne is so far out of danger by them, that they are the Chief Pillars that support it: they being allowed to brag both of their being of the Blood of their Emperor and their Prophet, which obliges them to a double Obedience both of Children and Subjects.

The countenancing of this Sect, is not to be ascribed to this plausible Argument, more than to put a Check to the growing Perverseness of the *Siaids*,² boasting their Original from *Mahomet* himself, and to be more immediately sprung from his House and Lineage: These are so bold as to infringe the Royal Prerogatives, and to let the Emperor know, That whenever he girts his Sword about him, he ought to draw it only in their Defence, and at their Commands; not despotically to rule according to his own Dictates, but patiently submit to their Instructions: This Order is uneasy under Monarchy, nor are they for any Government where they are not uppermost. A Doctrine unpleasant to the Absoluteness of the *Persian* Emperors; and had not the Sword of the one the prevalency of the others Preaching, it were no ways to be redressed; for as the one keeps them in Awe, so the Reverence paid the

¹ See vol. iii, 45. For the Sūfi sect in Persia see Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, ii, 266 f.; Browne, *A Year*, 122 ff.

² Ar. *Saiyid*, "lord, chief," a title assumed by those who claim descent from the Prophet. "These Seyids, or descendants of the Prophet, are an intolerable nuisance to the country, deducing from their alleged descent and from the prerogatives of the green turban, the right to an independence and insolence of bearing from which their countrymen, no less than foreigners, are made to suffer . . . whose voluminous green turbans here [at Shuster] even more than elsewhere, seem to be an excuse for insufferable airs, gross superstition, and an indolent life" (Curzon, i, 507; ii, 368).

other on account of their Religion, makes them presume to inveigh, and often raise Factions against their Princes.

Wherefore the Foresight of their August Ancestry is commendable, in providing another Church-Militant Tribe to suppress and reclaim the Insolencies of the *Saiyids*; for out of respect to their own Laws, which are still unalterable, as well as to withhold their Hands from violating what the People repute as Sacred, they rather sought by one Nail to drive out another, than openly to denounce War against them: Wherefore when they find themselves perplexed with the same Dilemma, they seek not to abrogate any former Decree of their Emperors by a direct Contradiction, but study to impugn it some other ways: As for Example; In *Shaw Albas* the Great's time, on the days of their Feasts and Jubilces, Gladiators were approved and licensed; but feeling afterwards the Evils that attended that Liberty, which was chiefly used in their *Hossy Gossy*,¹ any private Grudge being then openly revenged; it never was forbid, but it passed into an Edict by the following King, That it should be lawful to kill any found with Naked Swords in that Solemnity. And on these substantial grounds this new Order enjoys not only the Name of *Suffees*, but the Emperor himself will be their Captain, and suffers none else to head them, and thence takes on him the specious Name and Title of *Grand Suffee*; and to perpetuate their Memory, has given it indelebly to *Sphahaun*, for this reason joined with the former, to be called *Suffahaun*.

To distinguish these from the others, who cloathc themselves in Green Attire, and forbid it to any else,² they wear

¹ Hasan-Husain, see vol. i, 256, 273.

² Burton (*Pilgrimage*, ii, 4 n.) remarks that in Al-Hijaz, as a general rule, Saiyids do not denote their descent by a green turban. "In fact, most of them wear a Kashmir shawl round the head, when able to afford the luxury. The green turband is an innovation in Al-Islam. In some countries it is confined to the Sayyids: in others it is worn as

an high Red Velvet Cap, plaited at top like a Cap of Maintenance; whence on a Wooden Crest they fix a little Brass Ball, tied on with three wreathen Chains, which they bring down strait to the fore-part of the Bonnet, whose lower Brim is bound about with a White Sash, and sometimes a Plume of one Feather is set up with the Crest, much after the same Fashion the Noble Senators wear in the King's Presence: Besides which they have a Surcoat of Scarlet Cloth, as it were in defiance to the Grass-green of the *Siads*; so much monopolized by them, that in *Turky*, if any other wear it, he pays dearly for his Folly: The *Grand Signior's* Standard is also of that Colour, being called *Mahomet's Banner*: In opposition to whom, the *Grand Suffee* erects a double-pointed Bloody Sword in a White Field, and brings it out in honour of *Mortis Ally*.¹

To his adopted Kindred (now Regulars under him, their Chief) are many Privileges granted, and by them to be held inviolable.

They are allowed a peculiar *Missa*, or Service, in a Chappel apart in the *Alacoppe*,² or place where the Grand Council sit, where they attend the King, or one in his stead, every *Friday* Night, at the Sacrament of *Holway*,³ (or Wafer made up in Sweetmeats,) in Imitation of the Shew-bread.

When any one has run into Debt, or committed any Capital Crime, as Murther, Adultery, Theft, or the like; if the one to defraud his Creditor, and the other to avoid the

a mark of distinction by pilgrims." The Indian Saiyid very often wears a green turban to mark his sect, as the Sharif of Egypt do (Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*, i, 43). There are cases in Northern India where specially holy men are known as Sabzposh, because their entire dress is green.

¹ See vol. i, 93.

² The 'Ali Kāpī or sacred gate at Ispahān, said by some to mean "Gate of 'Ali": by others Allāh Kāpī or "Gate of God": others, again, assert that it was brought by Shāh 'Abbās from the tomb of 'Ali at Nejef, where he replaced it by a jewelled substitute. Curzon (ii, 30 f.) thinks it is really 'Ali Kāpī, "Sublime Porte."

³ See vol. i, 238.

hands of Justice, make their Escape to the *Ilacoppe*, the first Gate of the Palace-Royal, or to the King's Stables, and implore their Protection, and they engage for their Refuge, it is a Piacular Offence to force them thence; nor will they resign them to the Emperor, though he command them to be taken from their Sanctuary.¹

Nor are they so wholly devoted to compassionate others Afflictions, as to defend their own Rights; for whosoever's Face the Emperor commands them to cover, they are dead in Law; nor will they scruple being Executioners, no more than the *Roman* Lictors, who bore the Rods and Axes; the latter of which are their proper Weapons of War, as well as a fit Badge of their Office.

Their prescribed Number cannot enlarge its self to all of their Sect; wherefore they are interspersed among the common People, some following Trades and Husbandry, and others other Employments; retaining always their Habit, which none of the Vulgar dare affront or strike, however provoked; but taking off their *Suffean* Cap first, and kissing it, laying it down reverently, they will not then be afraid to cuff them, or drub them to purpose; being careful in the mean while to offer no Indignity to the Order, while they revenge themselves on the Persons.

¹ Many places in Persia are regarded as sanctuaries (*bast*). Thus the shrine of Shāh 'Abdu-'l-'Azim protects offenders. "There are different degrees of *bast*, the area of protection being smaller and more circumscribed in proportion as the crime of the refugee is greater. Murderers, for instance, cannot go outside the courtyard of the Mosque without running the risk of being arrested; debtors, on the other hand, are safe anywhere within the walls" (Browne, 159 f.). Throughout the country the King's stable is regarded as the most sacred of sanctuaries, the military tribes paying it the most superstitious reverence. "A horse," they say, "will never bear him to victory by whom it is violated" (Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, ii, 403). The sacred enclosure at Mashhad, mosques and other holy buildings (compare the Hebrew respect for the horns of the altar), stables, or tails of horses belonging to the sovereign or members of the royal family; the neighbourhood of artillery, e.g., the Tūpkhānah at Teherān, are all sanctuaries (Curzon, i, 155, 308). See also Manucci, i, 47, 49; iii, 135; Lady Sheil, *Sketches*, 166; Benjamin, 154; Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, 74; Wells, 137; Tavernier, 24, 27.

Besides these, there is another Mark of Honour wholly in the King's Power, and never bestowed but on those of the Prime Nobility, and those who have endeared him by some famous Performance, for which they are signalized by wearing a small Kettledrum at the Bow of the Saddles in their Cities; which at first was invented for the training of Hawks, and to call them to the Lure, and is worn in the Fields by all Sportsmen for that end; but he who is rewarded with it from the King, is a Man of Supreme Dignity; and therefore,

—*Titulo dignatus equestri
Virtutem titulis titulos virtutibus ornans.*

—A Knight of high Degree
Adorns his Title by his Chivalry.

And thus having muster'd the Horse, let us dismount and take an Account of the Foot, who are not so formidable for Multitudes as Valour; the Infantry are all Gun-men, and are better in Garison, and under Covert, than in open Field, fighting Hand to Fist; chiefly because having been brought up under that Discipline, they are unacquainted with any other way of Engagement. But the *Georgian* Veterans (who are in the same nature among the *Persians*, as the *Janizaries*¹ among the *Turks*) will stand it out either for Victory or Death; both *Persians* and *Georgians*, are thus disposed of in their Ranks:

The First Order is <i>Cool</i> , ²	Their	9 <i>Thomands per An.</i> At the King's Charge for Cloaths and Diet.
The Second Order is <i>Corge</i> , ³	Salary	6, without Charges.
The Third, <i>Jeserve</i> , ⁴		5, all Charges defray'd.

¹ Ital. *ianizzeri*; Turk. *yeni-cheri*; Pers. *charik*, "auxiliary forces," in the sense of "new soldiery."

² Pers. *qul*.

³ Pers. *qurchi*.

⁴ There is some doubt about this term. It is possibly Pers. *jasa'ir*,

Which are the King's own Regiments, walking with Feathers in their high Hats, armed with Muskets and Axes.

The Fourth, <i>Topangee</i> , ¹	Their Salary	5 <i>Thomands</i> , without Charges defray'd.
The Fifth, <i>Taberdars</i> , ²		4 <i>Thomands</i> , without Charges defray'd.

Armed only with Poleaxes and Muskets.

Of whose certain Number, Rumour and common Fame must be believed, where no other Notice can be had.

There are in readiness 40000 *Georgians*: Besides 80000 Stationaries to and again in Garisons.

All these receive their Pay out of the King's Treasury, or from Set Rents.

To these may be added the Provincial Cohorts, as Subsidiary Forces, which are reserved for the last Push, to succour the declining Army in great Necessity: These differ both in the manner of their Function and Pay: Otherwise, whatever the other foregoing Orders perform to the Emperor, these are bound to pay to their respective *Cauns*, receiving their Pensions from the allotted Lands of several Colonies, not from the common Bank.

The lowest Degree of all these are the Watchmen on the Roads, maintained at the Charge of the *Shawbunder*, to

troops armed with the *jaza'ir* or *jaza'il*, the swivel-gun, a word which is the origin of our Gingall or Jingall (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 373). Steingass, (Pers. Dict., s.v.) gives *jazā'irī*, "the King of Persia's Body-guard." Sanson, *Estat Present du Royaume du Perse*, 1694, p. 101, uses the form "Dgc. Hairtches."

¹ Pers. *topanchi*. "The *Tufenkiler-Agasi* is the general of the *Tufenkis*, who composed the third Body of the militia. This part of the Souldiery was lately instituted, being compos'd of men taken from the Plough, as being most fit for labour. They are Foot-men with only a scimiter and a musket. But when they march, they have a Horse or Mule between three or four, to carry their Baggage and Provisions" (Tavernier, 224).

² Pers. *tabrdar*, a man with a mace or axe: a pioneer.

clear the Ways of Robbers, and to demand Custom; for which, if any are set upon, in the King's Highway, whatever Loss is sustained, the Countrey is at no Charge, neither does the Merchant or Traveller suffer the Damage; but whatever is entred at the Custom-house, the *Shawbunder* becomes obliged to see safe through the Kingdom, and makes full Satisfaction for any Miscarriage of this nature. The Men that serve under this Warfare are armed with Halberts, Bills, and Falchions, and are hired by the Day as need requires.

Now follow the Sons of *Nereus*, or the Seamen; these in the *Persian* Gulph are either Fishermen, or such as brush the Ocean to get a Penny by Freight: What are in the *Caspian* Sea, I cannot be positive in my Relation, but I never heard them boast of more hardy ones: In the *Persian* Bay, they have at *Ormus*, *Bunder-Abassee*, *Larack*, and *Kismush*, some few Gallies laid up, but unprovided either of Men or Tackle; and if at any time they are launched, they fill them out of the Provincial Auxiliaries under the *Cau* of *Bunder*. Thus have we run through this kind of Warlike Men from Top to Bottom.

CHAP. XIII.

Of their Bookmen and Books; of their Religion and Religious Worship; of their Notions in Philosophy; of Heaven and Hell: Their Astronomers, Physicians, and Lawyers.

AFTER These come the Academicks; for such is the Civility of these Regions, that Arms take place of the Gown, Letters being of small Esteem among them; for the Incitements to Study are but few, the Toil and Labours are many; whereby it is no wonder that slenderness of Profit, and Assiduity, should be alike irksome; when on

the contrary, a Military Condition slighteth these Inconveniences and Austerities, and lives more at large, taking Pleasure, and commanding all where they come, and are in a continual Prospect of Advancement: On which score, a Learned or a Noble Clerk in these Parts is as rare as a Black Swan,¹ they being raised to that Station out of the Dregs of the People.

The School-Language among the *Persians* is *Arabick*, as *Latin* is held so among us; in which not only the Mysteries of their *Alcoran*, but of all their Sciences are written.

They have their Grammars, Dictionaries, and Vocabulae, in which are the Roots of the *Arabick* Tongue, which with other Books are all written with the Pen by great Industry and Pains, not committed to the Press; wherefore they are chargeable, and less free from Errors; to correct which, they compare with others more correct, one reading with a loud Voice, while the other takes notice of the Faults: They reckon Fifty Letters to a Verse, and for a Thousand Verses of ordinary Writing, they give Two *Abcees*; - from Five to Ten and upward, for that which is more exquisite, after this rate are their Books for Sale valued. An Account of the Character being stated, they numerate the Verses of any one Page, and multiplying the other Pages thereby, the Price of the Book is produced: If there be Lines of Gold, Silver, Oker, or the like, surrounding the Margin, for Ornament, as is their Custom, they reckon nothing for them, but bestow them *gratis* on the first Buyer, and only pass as a better Grace to set off the Book; they being mightily taken with a fair Hand and

¹ *Rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cygno* (*Juvenal, Sat.*, ii. vi, 165).

² Pers. *'abbāsi*, which Herbert (231) values at sixteen pence (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 389).

good Writing. This agrees with the Custom of the Ancient Romans:

*Candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras.
Nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur.* Ovid.¹

*Et Frontis gemino decens honore
Et Cocco rubeat superbus index.* Martial.²

They use *Indian Ink*, being a midling sort, betwixt our common Ink, and that made use of in Printing: Instead of a Pen, they make use of a Reed, as in *India*.

The Children of Nobles, or other Rich Men, are brought up at home, not stirring out of their Houses without a Train of Eunuchs and Servants, for fear of Sodomy, so much practised among the pestilent Sect of *Mahometans*: Other Children of Inferior Rank are taught in their Publick Schools for a small matter.

Their Childhood being passed, and they beginning to write Man, they frequent the Schools and Colleges, and every one chuses a Master where he pleases; and having chose him, after a few Months leaves him at his own Will, and goes over to another: For such a strange Itch is here of Learning, that before they are half way instructed in one Book, they are desirous to be perfected in another; and before they have read Philosophy, Morality, or any other Science to qualify them, they leap into the *Alcoran*; for here are neither Public Professors to examine, or Publick Acts to be kept, either in Divinity, Law, or Physick: They are constituted by the Primate of their cursed Fabulous Doctrine, without formal Disputation, or other Approbation than the Popular Fame, Interest of Friends, and a false Appearance of a Pious Life, and are introduced by these means into the Pensions and Benefices of their Wealthiest Mosques.

Whence it comes to pass that they are so inclinable to

read to all Comers; for he whose Lectures are most frequented, stands fairest in the Noisy Applause of the Town, and seldom misses of Promotion; though it is known many of them consume their Patrimony in purchasing Disciples, and after all, reap nothing but Poverty for their Pains: Which kind of Philosophers are always attended with Envy and Ambition; nor care they who they defame, may they but extol themselves! And after a long Invective both of Master and Scholar, against whomever they think fit to bespatter, or they are in danger of being outdone by, insulting in the mean while over them as the greatest Dunces and Asses in Nature; at length, out of kindness to themselves, having stretched their own Worth to the highest pitch (lest the swoln Bladder should burst by too much Wind) they feign an humble self-reprehension; which because nothing is more practised, I will use their own Phrase: *Esked tacrit goufton ai behest anna hemme kess ne donct.*¹ "It is indecent for a Man to speak his own Praise; but were I silent, this is a Justice you would do me, it being nothing but what you know." Whereby it is visible, if they abate of their own Tumour, it is likely to be very little to the favour of him they declaim against.

Notwithstanding these Tricks and disingenuous Insinuations, yet this scabby Herd increases so, that they are at their Wits ends how to live: Some find *Mecænus's* among the Noblemen, and content themselves to live slavishly, according to their Humours, for a Morsel of Bread: Others, by saving what they have scraped up from the poor Trade of Scribes, and teaching School, hire an House, purchase an Horse, and a Servant to run before them, (it being a sign of the greatest Poverty to foot it through the City);

¹ Mr. Irvine suggests: *Az kadd tâkhîr-i-gûstânî bih est: innamâ hamah kas mî-dânad*, "Compared with importunity reluctance to speak is preferable; but everyone understands." This may be a proverb, but it is not in Roebuck.

and if by good Luck they get a Name, and are reputed Men of Note for Learning, they then enlarge their Stock and Family: And these are they that pride themselves in being the greatest Doctors among them, and so set up for Academies of their own; and teach *Aristotle's Dialect*, and the Four Figures of Syllogism; though the Question being propounded, they bind not themselves up to the strict Rules thereof; but they beg the Premise by way of Interrogation, as a Truth granted, and from thence draw their Conclusions.

The Terms of Negation and Concession are exotic among the *Persians*, contending that Distinctions and *Laconical* Evasions, on which the Stress of the *Aristotelian* Doctrine seems to be laid, are not to be held for the true Solution of the Argument; but by a long Harangue and Affluence of Speech, the Auditors are brought both to admire them, and be of their side; whereupon the greater the Convention of Auditors is, the more earnest will their Contention be; for to yield in such Assemblies, is not at all to be expected, unless he that holds his Tongue first, intends to lose both his Credit and his Cause.

Universals, Catagories, and their depending Questions, they often reject; concerning the nature of a Body, Place, Vacuuin, Corruption, Quantities, and Qualities, they inform their Students after the *Aristotelian* way; being unacquainted with the Resolution of Causes of Sublunary Beings by Atoms, according to our modern *Cartesian* Disciples, revived in honour of *Epicurus*; whom they suppose they have sufficiently Confuted by the Name of *Zimorat*, with some vain and boyish Instances against Composition without Interruption and infinite Particles; preaching up a Vacuum, whereby they believe the Absurdity to be demonstrated.

In their Theology, after the Contemplation of One Eternal Divinity, after its Unity and Attributes, which

they maintain to be all one with its Essence; they hold the World to be from Eternity, and such a Treatise of the Soul and Passions, with the other precisions of the Intellect, which is no where to be found in Metaphysics. In these, as in their other Speculations, they cleave so pertinaciously to their Books and undoubted Authors, as if it were piacular to depart from their Traditions.

They fancy to themselves a Chimerical Creation of the World by Ten Intelligencies, which by the same inexpugnable Reason passes into their Creed; and being freight with this Notion, they say, from one most simple Cause can proceed no more than one Effect; and therefore God framed the first Intelligence, and that mediating the First Heaven, and so in their subaltern order to the Tenth.

That the World was many Ages before *Adam* and *Eve*, (our first Parents Eduction out of the Earth) Inhabited by Devils; and that the Possession thereof was so long entrusted in their Hands, till they had extirminated the true Worship of God (which at first they applied themselves Religiously to observe) and gave themselves up to Uncleanliness and Prophaneness; when Man was Created in their room, and they cast out of any farther Possession, and Men took their Places.

That Souls were from all Eternity, and commanded by God on the actual Exigency of any Body to enter a Relation, or a certain dependency with them, not an Information, or real Presence, *tota in toto & tota in quilibet parte corporis vitam habentis*; being all in all, and all in every part where Life does exist; from this foolish Conception of theirs, they attribute Place and Circumscription to the Soul; therefore they Object not a Spiritual, but a Corporal Substance to be inferred.

They acknowledge Four kinds of Causes, *viz.* Material, Formal, Efficient and Final; they allow not of an exemplary, but admit of a total Cause; by which they under-

stand such an one as no condition is defective to put it into Act; and on these Foundations they suppose the World's Creation from Eternity to be enough proved.

The Books of greatest vogue, are those of *Corge Nessir Tussi*¹ of the City *Tuss*, in the Province of *Korasan*,² wrote Five hundred years ago; he, as it is credible, understood the *Greek* Language as well as others; from whence he has explained some Ancient Authors, as *Euclid*, *Ptolomy's Alguma*³ and Opticks, and has reduced them into a Compendium, as also the Works of *Plato*. Some Expositors they have of their Law, with Rules of Justice and Morality; which they admire and extol to the Skies, and rest implicitly on the *ipse dixit* of their Prophet, never enquiring farther: If any thing happen to oppose common Sense, they protract the meaning Mysteriously or Anagogically, not to the disquisition of the Truth, but to defend their Fopperies. Among which they have in the first esteem, the Written Letter of their Prophet, as immediately prescribed by him, and these are Oracular. In the Second place, those who are since published by the *Mahometan* Sectators, and these are look'd upon as Human; any whereof, if they appear foolish, yet they doubt not but their Prophet uttered

¹ Khwājeh Nasir-ud-din Tūsī, the famous astronomer and philosopher, born at Tūs in Khurāsān in 1200, employed by Halākū Khān, grandson of Chingir Khān, author of the *Akhlaq-i-Nāsī*, died A.D. 1274. See the account of him in Beale, *Oriental Biog. Dict.* "Their books are for the most part the works of an ancient Persian author, whose name was *Kodgia Nesir* in the City of *Thouss*, in the Province of *Korassan*. 'Tis very probable he was well skill'd in the *Greek* and *Arabick*, having translated into *Persian* several Books, out of these two Languages" (Tavernier, 227). For this writer see E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdausi to Sa'di*, 1906, pp. 484 ff.

² Khorāsān.

³ He means, perhaps, the Almegist of Claudius Ptolemaeus. "To designate the great work of Ptolemy the Arabs used the superlative *μεγίστην*, from which the article *al-* being prefixed, the hybrid name *Almegist*, by which it is now universally known, is derived" (*Eency. Brit.*ⁿ, xvii, 619).

them, that he might bring himself to the Capacities of his Hearers, and of the *Arabians*, to whom he was sent to call them from Idolatry to the Worship of the only One God; for which the *Persians* make this Answer, Should a Doctor talk to a Rustick, and speak as if he were discoursing with a Professor, and not conform himself to the apprehension of the Countryman, How should he be understood? Which course, say they, *Mahomet* took for the better Information of his Proselytes.

Who leaving Natural Causes, declares these Secrets were Revealed to him: That

The Winds were raised by an Angel's moving his Wings.

The Flux and Reflux of the Sea was caused by an Angel's putting his Foot on the middle of the Ocean, and compressing the Waves, the Waters ran to the Shores, which being removed, they retired to their proper station.¹

Falling Stars are the Firebrands wherewith the Good Angels drive away the Bad when they are too sawcily inquisitive, and approach too near the Empyreum (the Virge of the Heavens) to hearken to, and eves-drop the Secrets there.²

Thunder is nothing else but the Cracking of an Angel's Whip, while he flashes the dull Clouds to such and such a place, where Rains are wanting to make the Earth fertile and remedy its Driness.

Eclipses.³ he delivers, happen not by the mutual Inter-

¹ As the tradition is related by Ibn-al-Wardi, the bull supporting the world takes a breath twice in the course of the day; when he exhales, the tide flows, when he inhales, it ebbs (Lane, *Arabian Nights* i, 21 n.).

² Meteors (*shihâb*) are flying shafts shot at evil spirits, who approach too near heaven (Burton, *Ar. Nights*, i, 206; vii, 61. Lane, i, 59).

³ "Verily, the people in ignorance used to say that an eclipse of the sun and moon is on no other account than foreboding the death of a great man; and verily they are neither for the life or death of anyone, but are amongst the other creations of God; he creates anything

jection of the Heavenly Bodies, but that the Sun and Moon are shut in a Pipe (a Cupboard as well) and turned up and down, and that from each Pipe is a Window by which they enlighten the World; but when God is angry at the Inhabitants thereof for their Transgressions, he bids an Angel clap to the Window, and turn the Lights towards Heaven from the Earth; then the Light is taken away from the unworthy Miscreants, and an Eclipse is made; for which occasion he has left them Forms of Prayers to be used by the *Mahometans*, that God would be pleased to avert his Judgments and restore Light to the World. In an Eclipse of the Moon they beat Pots and Pans, or any other brazen Instrument, as in time of Idolatry it was a prevailing Custom, even in *Europe* (as well as here and in *India*) which still some ignorant Old Women, and the dregs of the People are ready enough to continue; for the Tradition was handed down to them, wherewith they were seduced of Yore, that the Moon might be Inchanted, and unless it were roused up by this Noise would certainly fall down dead asleep upon the Earth from Heaven.

Juvenal in his Satyrs Comments pleasantly enough on the Garrulity of the Female Sex, by this Invective on one of them:

Una laboranti possit succurrere Luna.¹

Whose Tongue alone could help the Moon,
Recover its Lethargick Swoon.

But the incomparably witty *Persians* have an evasion for this, telling this Tale; Their Learned Doctor *Nessim*² (on whose Words they'll Swear) had Predicted to the Reigning King an Eclipse of the Moon, but fearing lest the drowsy King should be asleep, and so he should lose the fruit of

new that he likes; therefore when either of them are eclipsed, say prayers, till they become light, or till God orders something else" (*Mishkat-al-Masabih*, i, 329). For eclipse observances, see vol. i, 274.

¹ *Juvenal, Sat.*, vi, 443.

² See vol. iii, 70.

his Prediction, persuaded the Vulgar, that to drive away the ill Influences the Eclipse Presaged, they would smite with all their force on such Instruments; whereby the King being perfectly awaked, he lift up both his Hands and his Eyes in Astonishment, and admired the Skill of his Astrologer, for which he was well Rewarded. But this is but a Story, however positive they are, since it was a Custom all the World over long before.

Their Thick-scull'd Prophet has set another Angel at work for Earthquakes, who is to hold so many Ropes tied to every Quarter of the Globe; and at God's Command, he is to pull and so shakes that part of the Globe; and if a City, Mountain, or Tower, be to be overturned, then he tuggs harder at the Pulley, till the Rivers dance and the Valleys are filled with Rubbish, and the Water swallowed up in the Precipices. Such Stuff as this he has abundance of; and the most impartial Interpreter of the *Alcoran*, as the *Mahometans* themselves confess, can afford no better: But for all that they hold that it contains profound meanings; for it has several degrees of Senses, the second of which it is hardly possible for the greatest Doctor to apprehend; wherein are couched Words of such efficacy, which if they were pronounced by Unpolluted Lips, and whoever should understand them and Pray, might both Raise the Dead and work Miracles; and that of an unquestioned truth this Book came from God, as both the Fecundity of Stile, and admirable Eloquence doth testify: For they are not afraid prophanelly to say, That God accommodated his Missions to Place, Age, and the exigency of Times; in the Days of Christ there were excellent Physicians, *Irennus*,¹ i.e. *Galen*, *Pichagor*,² *Pockate*,³ *Afflaton*,⁴

¹ *Jālīnūs*, or Galen.

² *Fīthāghūr*. *Fīthāgūras*, or Pythagoras.

³ *Bokrāt*, Hippocrates.

⁴ Plato. "Many Arabick writers have flourisht in those parts, most of whose Bookes they read and practise by, namely *Galen*, *Avverroy*.

(prodigious Reconcilers of Time!), all these Healed Diseases by their Plants and Herbs; but God to outdo these, gave Christ Power to Raise those from the Dead who had been Buried; acknowledging withal, that this Prophet exceeded the degree of meer Man.

When *Moses* lived, many Magicians and Cunning Men were entertained by *Pharaoh*; God therefore gave *Moses* a more wonderful Art, that his Serpent should devour theirs, whereby they were compelled to own him sent from God.

And now to nick *Mahomet*, when he had the Impudence to set up for a Prophet, Oratory was in its full perfection; wherefore *Mahomet*, by the Ministration of the Angel *Gabriel*,¹ brought forth the Chapters of his *Alcoran*; which when he had proposed to the Wisest Men of that Age to pronounce but Three or Four thereof, and they not being able, were forced to confess, that That Work must be certainly of God, since they knew *Mahomet* to be Illiterate; which he relates in his *Alcoran*, and takes thence an opportunity to boast, undervaluing the *Psalms* of *David* in the mean while (which are *David's Psalms*) because they know not with what Figures of Words and Sentences they are Illuminated, nor with what vehemency they incite a Devout Soul; that the *Persian* Interpreter, could he express the Numbers and Elegancies of Speech contained in the *Hebrew*, would leave off to admire the Nonsense of the *Alcoran*, and look upon the mistake with detestation. Nor would they dare to call their Impostor, as they do, the continual flowing *Miracle of Rhetorick*, but rather a meer Stammering Fool, and his Bastard-brood the *Alcoran*, Sottishness.

The Antiquaries among the Christians, who have searched

Hippocrates, *Alfarabius*, *Avgcenna*, *Ben Isaack*, *Abu-Ally*, *Mahummed-Abdilla*, *Ben-Eladib*, *Abu-Beer*, *Rhazus*, *Algazzalys*, and *Albumasar*" (Herbert, 234).

¹ The legends connecting Gabriel with the revelation of the Qur'an are given by Hughes, *Dict. Islam*, 133.

more narrowly into this upstart Religion-Monger, have scented who was his real Instructor, though he belied the Archangel *Gabriel*; for this Hodge podge was forged between him and one *Sergius*¹ a Monk, who fled to him in *Arabia*, when the *Nestorian* Heresy, which he professed, was Condemned in *Syria*; *Mahomet* received him, being now risen to Power from a poor Lad, of the Father's side a *Pagan*, by the Mother of a *Jew*; by their joint perverting the Holy Bible, sprang up this Motly of Blasphemous Dotages; in which that he made use of *Sergius* as his Tutor, may be discovered by some Footsteps still appearing out of the very *Alcoran*; for in the Chapter entitled *Nahil*, thus it is rendred word for word; *The People accuse thee that whatever thou pretendest to utter as from God, thou art taught all this by thy Companion.*²

But the whole matter is related by *Pomponius Læt.* and *Ignatius*; thus *Sergius* the Master of *Mahomet*, was, as many believe, the Author of the *Monothelites* also: He cherished the wicked Heresy of *Arius* and *Nestorius*; therefore being Excommunicate, by the Orthodox, he was sent a Vagabond into Banishment, and at length he came into *Arabia*, where the false Prophet *Mahomet* obliged him by his Friendship, and by him learn'd to corrupt the Holy Scriptures, so as to frame a New Religion, which was neither Christian, nor altogether Jewish, but a Composition

¹ For the Nestorian monk *Sergius*, see Sale, *Koran*, p. 223 f., note on chap. xvi. "And having by the Devills prompting, and the help of *Sergius* an Italian (a neast of uncleanness, a Monck, a Sabellian, a discontented wretch for missing worldly preferment, at *Byzantium*) and of *John of Antioch* (an infamous Nestorian) finisht his Alcoran in the yeare of the blessed Lord God 620" (Herbert, 253). Grose (283) refers to him, and Terry (243) calls him "*Sergivus*, a Christian by profession, but a heretical Nestorian."

² He refers to the passage in *Sûratu-n-Nâhl*, "The Chapter of the Bee" (xvi), which Sale translates: "We also know that they say, Verily, a certain man teacheth him to compose the Koran. The tongue of the person unto whom they incline is a foreign tongue: but this wherein the Koran is written, is the perspicuous Arabic tongue."

of both, obliterating what was not to their purpose; whereupon the *Hagareens* and *Saracens*, held *Mahomet* not only as their King, but also as a Prophet Divinely Inspired, and follow him in all his Absurdities.

He denied the Trinity, affirming it to be ridiculous to believe Christ to be God;¹ wherefore with *Socinus* and *Eumenius*, he allowed him to be only a Creature, but with *Carpocrates*, an Holy Prophet. He held with *Cedren*, that it was a thing impossible that God should Beget a Son who never had a Wife.

With the *Manachites* he would not have Christ Crucified, but another so like him that he could not be distinguished.²

With the Disciples of *Origen*, he held that after a Revolution of time the Devils might be Sav'd; ascribing with the *Anthropomorphites*, Members and Human Shape to the Deity; placing, with *Cerinthus*, all Felicity in Pleasure.

He has Commanded Circumcision, with *Elion*, though with *Eucrates*, he has forbidden Wine to his Disciples; he Damns those to Hell that speak against the *Alcoran*, asserting it to be given by Inspiration.

Friday is his Sabbath; and two Fasts are by his appointment, the one the First Moon of *October*, the other before the New Year at the *Vernal Equinox*.³

Polygamy is his Masterpiece, it being lawful to play the Brute with what Women they please; although to Eat Swines Flesh be a Crime unpardonable; attributing to Beasts, as well as men, a capability of a Resurrection.⁴

The Holy Baptism⁵ he explodes as insignificant, pre-

¹ The passages in which he denies the Trinity (*Sūrah*, iv, 169; v, 77, 116) are late, and were composed at Madīnah (Hughes, 646).

² *Sūrah*, iv, 155, 156 (Hughes, 232).

³ Musalmān fasts fall into seven classes (*Ibid.*, 124).

⁴ This is the doctrine of the Qur'ān (*Sūrah*, lxxxi, 1-19).

⁵ Baptism is mentioned only once in the Qur'ān (*Sūrah*, ii, 132). "We have the baptism of God, and who is better to baptize than God?" (Hughes, 36).

ferring thereto his Superstitious Washing before Prayers, and at Exonerating the Body; he lets them not Cut the Foreskin before the Eighth Year; he esteems the Eucharist given in Commemoration of Christ, as frivolous, because he confesses not that he suffered Death; but that the Eucharist was instituted of God for the benefit of worthy Receivers, and for the destruction of such as should not receive it worthily.

His Ecclesiastical Orders are the *Mufly*, *Cadies*,¹ and *Talmen*.²

The *Mufly* is the Head of the Law in *Turky*; to Kill, Depose, Despise, or to behold whom with Disregard, is a Sin of an high nature: But in *Persia* there is one in Title only, without any Authority of the Keys; for that our *Persians* insist, It is a Reserve only for *Mahomet* and his Twelve Successors; yet as their Vicar there may be *Moutched*,³ i.e. *Doctor Vitæ*, one of that approved strictness of Manners, and eminent Knowledge for a Director and Guide to the People, that all Affairs and Strifes concerning Conscience may be determined by him; but what is more, all Preferments relating to the Church are at his Disposal. Where this Carcass is, there the Eagles will be gathered; for to this High-Priest is not lacking wherewith to maintain his Inferior Brethren, would he spare something from his own Hoards; but he is a-kin to that sort of Animal which

¹ There is no direct allusion to the rite in the *Qur'an* see Hughes, 110).

² The Mufti and the Qāzī, the former expounding the law, and assisting the Qāzī or Judge with rulings *fatwā* (Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, ii, 317). "The *Moufti* is the honourable Chief of the Law all over the Empire, and accounted to be the Interpreter of the Alchoran" (*Relation of the Grand Seignior's Seraglio*, 12).

³ For Talman used in the sense of a learned divine, see Yule, *H. & Jobson*, 893 f.

⁴ Probably *Mujtahid*, "one who strives to attain learning, the highest degree among Mohammedan divines (see Hughes, 418".

the more it hath, the more it craveth; nor is anything more griping than he.

There are more than 60000 *Thomands* reckoned Yearly to be coffered up; a Stipend sufficient to feed the whole Herd, were it not perverted from the intention of the Donor, and converted to private uses; so true is it in him who is Head of their Law, while he presumes on that Office, he becomes the greatest Grievance thereof; whereby it is plain he is an Amphibious Creature, only affording the Priests an half Patronage, from whom he receives his Dignity; but the Lawyers give him Power and Wealth; so that though he delight to be called Primate of the *Mullahs*, yet he covets more the Rule of the *Cadies* or *Cazies*, from whom there is no Appeal.

For as in *Nuncupatives* the irrevocable Decrees and Commands of the Emperor stand firm, so his Determinations in the Written Law are as Authentick; so that where he has Wit to keep his Canons from interfering with the King's Prerogative, he acts as he pleases: They were formerly so resolute to interpose where they found their Sovereigns about to do a rash Mischief; but that Permission is laid aside, and he sings that Lesson to King *Solomon*, as to one that is deaf, he being impatient of any Reproof; not being willing to be drawn off from his Cups and his Gormandizing, nor at leisure to be present even at their Sacred Rites, having not saluted the Temple Twelve times since he began to Reign, which is Eleven Years; which his Forefathers were wont to do once a Week with great Pomp and State.

Godliness is not only the chief, but the Foundation of all other Virtues; for therein is a great Tye upon Men to keep them in their Duty; and where no other Arguments prevail upon their Reason, yet Religion compels: *Pietate autem sublata, inquit Cicero, Fides etiam, Societas humani generis, & una excellentissima, Justitia, immo omnis Probitas*

tollitur. Lib. i. nat. Deorum. Piety being neglected, says Cicero, Truth, Human Society, and the excellentest part thereof, Justice, yea, all manner of Goodness is taken away and perishes.

Now the *Ædile* may lock up the Church Doors, and the Reverend Prelate, whose Office it was to Administer before the King, may follow other Works, or supinely take his ease in his Cathedral Chair, while at constant Hours the Inferior Clergy stretch their Lungs from their Obelisks, and high Towers, and strenuously call to the People to Pray; any one of whom, if he can Read like a Clerk a Chapter out of the *Alcoran*, let his other endowments be as mean as his Brethrens, he shall be crowned with the honour of being a *Mullah* or *Talman*; wherefore though Learning be an Ornament, yet they esteem it less necessary than that it should interrupt their quiet or repose, to acquire it.

The greatest Burthen here too, is to perform the Funeral Obsequies, when to their Liturgy they add an Oration: Before the Herse they carry Banners, taking their Way through the high Streets to the Burial Place; after the Corps the *Mullahs* follow Singing, the Corps its self being decently Vailed with a Coverlet of divers Colours, and carried by Four Bearers, it lying on the Herse arrayed in the best Cloaths the Man wore, when alive: If it be a Woman she is put into a Coffin, or Chest, and an *Awning* made over the Herse, covered with a White Sheet instead of a Pall; after these come the Relations and People hired to Mourn; at the close of all are carried on stately Voiders, the *Holway*,¹ as among the *Turkish* Sect, which the Chief *Mullah*, after the Ceremonies are over, distributes to the Attendants, being, if required, obliged to repeat every Moon with the Kindred, who come with Lighted Lamps,

Sherbets, and this *Holway*, to Pray for the Soul of the Departed, which they modestly continue Twelve Moons. This is the thing makes the Clergy sweat, for they have nothing else to do for the Republick, leaving the People to Pray for themselves that are Alive, only concerning themselves with the Dead.

Barbers Circumcise their Children when they think meet, when the Parents give them the Name, joining to that of his Fathers his own, as *Mahomed Hosseen*, i.e. *Mahomet the Son of Hosseen*; taking their Surnames, as the Old Jews, from their Tribes, which they glory in, though it be that of *Ismael*; of which Tribe they have many among them transmitted out of *Arabia* hither; which notwithstanding, are yet reckoned a Villanous sort of Breed; agreeing well with the *Psalmist's* Paraphrase on them, *Wo is me that my dwellings are with Mesech, and my habitation among the Tents of Kedar*; comparing these Men among which he was an Exile, to the wicked *Ismaelites*, addicted to Pilfering and Stealing, Prophaneness and Blasphemy; *Kedar* was the Son of *Ismael*, *Mesech* of *Japhet*, which Stock are very plentiful.

But those of them that think the best Tribe not clarified till they have ennobled it by some Religious Act, are not at rest till they have wiped off these Stains; which set them on foot so often to *Mahomet's* Tomb; returning whence, all former Taint is abolished, and they become pure *Mussclmen* indeed, which is the strongest Confirmation after Circumcision: For That is a time of Jollity, This of Labour and Travel, whereby they approve themselves what their Parents only Sponded for them; and this is a Task impos'd mostly on their new Proselytes.

The *Cadies*, or Justices, can both Marry and Unmarry: Which Lay-Clergy, with the whole Bookish Tribe, is hard to be known from the Gross of their Nation, by Strangers; unless some affect White Vestments in token of Purity,

and walk with Eyes fixed on the Ground, a Rosary in their Hands, an outward Appearance of Demureness and Sanctity, and a Neglect of the World; a Book of *Hadis*¹ in their Breast; and if any seem to mind them, they tune their Pipes to the Uncertainty of Riches; the Frailty of Human Nature; that all things are vain and fleeting; that our Minds ought to be fix'd on our End; with all the Train of Hypocrisy well personated.

The Parish-Priests are maintain'd in the Country by Collections; in great Towns or Cities, by the King, or *Cauns*.

Besides these, those who are called *Hodges* are such strict Puritans, that if they meet a Christian, Jew, or *Banyan*, and by chance his Garment brush against them, they hye them home, shift and wash, as if they had been defiled with some unclean thing, a Dog or Hog; undervaluing all but their own Sect, as if there were no Holier Creatures in the World.

And now having dispatch'd this Crew, moulded up in dull Clay, let us mix with those of more liberty in their own Language, allowing them at the same time to be kept in Bounds by the rigid Compressions of their Taskmasters in Religion, so that all the Strain of their Wit must bias that way.

And first, They have some (though few) set up for Admirers of the Muses, and value themselves in being call'd the Wits of the Age, and these are their Poets; who confine themselves to Rhime and Numbers, and sometimes to Quantity, inferring their Verses with Comparisons, Exaggerations, Flights of Ingenuity, and Fictions, which they repeat with Gestures both of Hands, and Body, and Mouth contorted, animating them with suitable Tones and Articulations, proclaiming them dead without such Information.

¹ Hadis or Sunnah, the religious traditions (Hughes, 639).

They have Romances of Famous Heroes and their Deeds; among which are pleasant Rancounters, Huntings, Love-Intrigues, Banquetings, descriptions of Flowers and delightful Groves, emphatically set down, with Cuts and Pictures represented lively enough, would their Colours endure; for which Skill, otherwise than for hitting the Life, their Limners are to be reckon'd defective, not knowing how to mix their Colours.

The exactest History they have to brag on, is *Rouse el Saphet*,¹ a Book of Three or Four Volumes, in Folio; which gives an account from the first Habitation of Men upon Earth, till the Two last Centuries. They are but bad at Chronology, making nothing of a Thousand Years confounded together: Had they the *Aera* of *Augustus*, or the *Julian* Period, or a faithful State of Time, there might be some likelihood of Truth in their Histories; but they being Convicted of inadvertency in these Points, the whole Superstructure must fall; which to defend even in their very *Alcoran*, they are forced to Forge Aspersions to confront the lameness of its Stories, whereby they endeavour thus to come off: A Wicked Emperor having obtained the Rule of the World, got the Sacred Writs together by force, and burnt them; after which, what occurred to the Memory of the Christians, were committed to Paper just as every one could recollect or fancy; and hence arose the several Mistakes and Differences.

Others pretending to a farther reach, follow our Saviour to the Fourth Heaven, where they affirm he now is, whither he carried the Gospel with him from the unworthy Nations, excited by the same Zeal *Moses* was, when he brake the

¹ *Rauzatu-s Safā fī Siratu-I Ambiā wau-l Muliūk wau-l Khulafa*, "The Garden of Purity and Biography of Prophets, Kings, and Caliphs," by Mirkhwānd (A.D. 1433-98), translated into English by D. Shea and E. Rehatsek. "The most considerable of their Historians is *Rouse el Sapha*, who wrote a Chronology from the Creation of the world to his time; wherein there are abundance of fables, but little truth" (Tavernier, 227).

Two Tables of the Decaloguc. With such Artifices as these they studiously bespatter the Christians and their Religion, to uphold their own Dogmatal Tenents.

Sed magna est Veritas, & praevalebit.¹

A Book like our *Aesop's Fables*, called *Emuel Sohaly*,² is preferred before all others, written in the *Persian* Language; yet their Superstition is such, that they dare hardly give it House-room, or afford it a place in their Libraries, lest it should bring ill luck.

At the same time this was Translated out of *Indostan*³ into the *Persian* Speech, there was Cotemporary another *Persian*, who had composed a Book of his own, but of a far inferior Stile; and being sensible his Work would be Postponed thereby, he industriously took care to spread a rumour among the Vulgar, that this Book of *Emuel Sohaly* was an ill thing, because it introduced Creatures irrational Talking one to another, alledging for proof some Texts of the *Alcoran*; and at that juncture laying hold of an Accident which happened to a Youth sleeping while he was reading this Piece, that fell down from the Upper-Room to the Ground, whereby he brake his Skull, and his Thighs, confirmed the Mobile in the New-broached Opinion of this Book; it ever since bearing an ill Name, because they looked on this as an Exemplary Judgment, where-with their Prophet was pleased to forewarn others, and

Magna est veritas, et praevalet. Vulgate version of 1 *Esdras*, iv, 41. "And all the people then shouted and said, Great is Truth and mighty above all things" (A.V.), "Strong above all things" (R.V.).

"Such difference is there in an oft-told tale;
But Truth, by its own sinews, will prevail"
(Dryden, *Religio Laici*, 348).

² *Anwār-i-Suhailī*, "Emanations of the star Canopus" of Husain Wā'iz, the Persian version of the folk-tales of Bidpai. See Keith-Falconer, *Kalīlah and Dimnah*, *Introd.* xiv f.

¹ Hindūstānī (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 417).

denounce his Anger against such as should attempt the reading of it.

*Alchymy*¹ has bewitched some of them to spend both their Time and Money without any other benefit than to supply them with a peculiar Cant, and affected Terms of their Teachers, which those, who seized with that Itch, not only infect themselves but others, with vain hopes, which at last, together with the Consumption of all their Substance, vanish in Smoak. These are such as cry up the Transmutation of Metals, till they have refined them to be the most excellent in Nature's Cabinet, whereby they would arrive to that degree of *Midas's* Wish, that whatever they touched should become Gold; a sottish and imprudent thirst of Wealth, as if it were in the power of Art to outdo the design of the Creation, wherein every thing was formed good in it's kind; by which these Dabblers cast a scandal on the Noble Profession of Chymistry, to which is owing the true Knowledge of Physick, by an Analytical Separation of the Parts of the Compound, from the gross Dregs of the mixture, whereout may be sucked such Particles, as are applicable for the Remedies of Human Infirmities, while they depart not from the nature first impressed on them. Here are many good Writers in this Honourable Science, but are at present unskilful and unprovided with their Instruments or Furnaces, such as we find the Learned Sons of this Art use in their Laboratories elsewhere.

Mathematicks being the Foundation of all Arts, should have preceded; but Treating of an indigested Nation, I deliver you them conformable to their own method; they understand *Euclid's* Elements, and Cœlestial *Phænomenas*, though they want the Citations and Adjuncts in the Demonstration of their Propositions: They have the

¹ On the Persian belief in Alchemy and the Philosopher's Stone, see Malcolm, *Hist.*, ii, 380 f.

Theodosian and *Autolian* Doctrine of the Spheres, some Fragments of *Archimedes*, but have not the Contracted Proclivity.

Practical *Geometry* is common with them; *Arithmetick* in intire Numbers and Fractions they Exercise, performing their Multiplication and Division in Transverse Lines: The Ancient *Algebra*, a Calculation by *Geometrical* Progressions is not hid from them, though they have no specious Invention.

Trigonometry of streight Lines and Spherical is their own, with the Canons of Signs and Tangents, yet without Secants: The Staff of 60 Parts, with so many Fractions, by a Prolix reckoning, they bring to Thrice, Four, or Five Minutes, our Chymical Arithmetical Transmutation never entring their Thoughts of the Sixtieth Number swelled into an unity by Cyphers, that all the Chords may evade absolute and intire; no more have they any smattering of that never enough to be admired Science of *Logarithms*.

The Theory of the Planets, the Middle Motions of *Ptolemy*, and the solids Orbs, as delivered by *Purbachius*, they are perfect in: *Copernicus*, or rather before him *Pythagorus's* Hypotheses, are confusedly and ignorantly disapproved by them, neither desiring to be informed, nor caring to concern themselves with any other than what they have imbibed Traditionally by their Forefathers; For which reason *Ticho's* Instruments for Observation of the Heavenly *Phenomenas* are undervalued by them.

Their *Astrolabe*¹ is the most Workmanly Tool among them, it being neatly framed of Brass, Copper, or Silver, in

¹ The use of the astrolabe is still common in Persia and India. For a full description of the instrument and the mode of using it, with an illustration, see Baden-Powell, *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, 260 ff. Each Persian astrologer "has his astrolabe of brass or silver; some of the brass ones are very large and handsome; I have known as much as a thousand kerans [francs] paid for a good one. They are manufactured in the country" (Wills, 120). Also see Pyrard de Laval, i, 10; Burton, *Arabian Nights*, x, 115.

a truly plain and familiar method, on one double Square only divided into 180 Parts each, with their Tangents; from the Structure of which Instrument, all the Centers of the Circles, are sooner found out by Steel Compasses, hung in an Arch with their Screws, than by our old way of *Stæfler*, and *Regiomontanus*, which though true in it self, yet it hardly is made to come right.

They have Tables shewing the exact Motion of the Planets, and thence collect their *Ephemeris*, which is Two-fold; One whereof is *Cameri*,¹ Answering to our Almanack, where are set forth the Conjunctions and Oppositions of the Luminaries, the Rains, the Alterations of the Air, also obscure and implicit Predictions, to catch the believing Multitude: The other is *Chamesi*,² in which the Longitudes, Latitudes, and Aspects of the Stars, the Eclipses sometimes agreeing, sometimes disagreeing with ours. In this Book are the suspicions of War, scarcity of Corn, and other Incidents not discernible in Human Learning; but so adapted, that like the sound of Bells to the Fancies of some, so these admit of an interpretation agreeable to every one's sense, that the Prognosticator may not be reproved of unskilfulness. Such an itch of knowing Contingencies reigns here, that no Journey is undertaken, no New Book read, no Change of Garments put on, no fresh Dwelling entered upon before the Stars are consulted; here is controverted when is the good, when the unlucky Hour to begin or end upon any Enterprize: The Moon's or other Planets ingress into *Scorpio* is much dreaded among them; and if that Planet be Retrograde, a stop is put to all business.

Whence comes the vulgar Juggle of the oblong Cubes, in which equal and unequal Numbers are disposed, where they being cast at adventures, what Figures they happen

Pers. *qamari*, "lunar."

² Pers. *shamsi*, "solar."

to be upon from those Points they thence make their judgments: Something parallel is found in the occult Philosophy of *Cornelius Agrippa*, in Page 221.

These draw Schemes, and are puffed with *Necromantick* Problems: If a Thief have stolen any thing, if a Servant have run from his Master with stolen Goods, if any would be acquainted about Husbands or Wives, they betake themselves to such Oracles as these.¹

Who begin their Delusion with a Gipsy Cant, with Eyes and Hands lift up to Heaven; then casting the Dye, he observes the Points, and ænigmatically canvesses the Event; sometimes hitting the Case, and sometimes as wide from it as the East is from the West; and though by Experience they have found them tripping an Hundred times, and upbraid them for the Cheat; they put it off as if they had not stated the thing fairly; that a Minute in the Calculation varies the truth; that this is the true profession *Daniel* transmitted to Posterity; and if it answer not the Question, it is not because the Art is defective, but because few are so happy as to attain its perfection; and thus do they willingly continue in their belief of the Gull: They encourage an infinite number of these South-sayers, as many as can invent new Tricks to get Money by it.

When they consult for future success in Matters of

¹ "They are very superstitious, it may be noted from our adverse fortunes as we travelled; for when we stood at their mercy to procure us Mules, Camells, and Horses, how hasty soever we appeared, they took no notice of it, nor cared to set us forward, except, by throwing the dye such a chance hapned as they thought fortunate; a ceremony diuided from the Romans who had their *albi et atri dics*. In every mischance also, or in sicknesse they use sorcery, presenting charms, crosse characters, letters, anticks, or the like, taken commonly out of their Alcoran. Nicromantic studies are much applauded, as profound, and transcending vulgar capacities; many in those parts make a notable living of it, and few Siets [Saiyids] there but can exorcize" (Herbert, 232). Also see Browne, 52, 159; Tavernier, 199: Lady Sheil, 119; Morier, *Second Journey*, 40; Malcolm, *Sketches*, 199.

great consequence, they go to some Learned Doctor, who Divines by the *Alcoran*; and he having prayed, opens the *Alcoran*, (that Legend of Lies;) and the first Page he sets his Eyes upon, if the First Commandment happen to be in it, the *Augury* is of force,¹ and they have no delay allowed them, but hasten with all speed about their Work; and if Twenty more come on the same Errand, they are sent away with the same Response, which after comparing Notes, though the Event be as unfortunate as may be, yet they contentedly acquiesce in the verity of the Prophecy, however contradictory to their Senses; and shall repeat the same method, as if it were a Point of their Faith to go on in palpable Absurdities, by constantly enquiring of the *Alcoran*.

The Emperor nourishes a great many Astrologers, the chief of whom is always by his side, with his Astrolabe at his Girdle, and dictates the good hour or bad hour, when to rise, when to go to bed, or to perpetrate any action of Note; erecting a Scheme on the Sand; whose Advice is always followed, though some Stories are upon Record to their disadvantage: Two whereof I shall relate.

About Eighteen Years ago, it being famous, and no longer since, remains fresh in memory, and is made use of to make sport with the Astrologers: The Cossaks on the River *Tanaïs*, came thence over the Caspian Sea, and made a Descent into Persia, and carried off a great Booty, loading their small Ships without any opposition: The Emperor of Persia incensed with this Affront, and Depredation made on his Subjects, arms such a Fleet as he thought sufficient to correct their Insolence with his Soldiers, and

¹ This is known as *fā'l* or *istikhārah*, and some sacred book, such as the Qur'an or the poems of Hāfiẓ, is used for the purpose. A copy of the latter is kept at the tomb of the poet at Shirāz for this purpose (Browne, 282). See Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*, 1, 329; Hughes, *Dict. Islam*, 114.

bad them take the Sea at the precise time the Astrologers should direct, that the Heavens also conspiring, they should effectually chastise their Enemies; which being without doubt carefully studied, should as infallibly come to pass, so that upon their invading them, not one of them should escape; And for the better obtaining their end, advised 'em to fasten their Ships together by strong Chains, that so they should keep their Body intire, lest the *Cossacks* should set upon any single Vessel, and at the same time should enclose the Pirates so, that they should by no means get out of their hands: But the cunning *Cossacks* being used to Stratagems, foreseeing their Design, fell upon the first Ship with their Guns, which so bored her Sides, that she sunk, and by her weight occasioned the rest to sink one after another, so that 500 Men, and Twelve Ships were sent to the bottom in a well-chosen hour, and the *Cossacks* by this Exploit left Masters of the Sea, and the Borders thereon liable to their continual Incursions.

Three Years after, one of the same Tribe contriving how to augment his Pension, in a chosen time, presented a Petition to the Emperor, when he happened to be out of humour; and therefore commanded an exact Account to be given him of the expence he was at in maintaining this Vermin; the return whereof amounting to 20000 *Thomands* Yearly, made him exceeding wroth, so that he not only denied an addition of Salary, but had extirpated the Function had not great intercession been made.

Des Cartes, the Prince of Philosophy in this Age, gives his Sectators caution *nè nimis superbe de nobis ipsis sentiremus decreta Dei à nobis intelligi supponamus*; lest we should too vainly conceit the Decrees of God to be understood by any of us; and these had done better had they stuck to their primitive Astronomy.

*Cælique meatus
Adscribunt radio & surgentia sidera dicent.¹*

*The Heavenly course with Staff to clear
The rising Stars tell through the Year.*

Which thing is but slightly touched by them; but because they do foretel some Revolutions of the heavenly Bodies, they are mightily admired by the Vulgar; and not only by them, but by those of better fashion also: Which here opens a Gap for all pretending Knaves, who fatten themselves on the folly of this Licence, which in all civil Governments is punished by the severest Laws; whose execution are so far neglected in *Persia*, that even now in the King's Court an old Hagg is respected; a relation of which, because it has as much of rarity as truth, I shall not think tedious to insert.

A certain *Turkish Woman*, born at *Constantinople* (by these People named *Stambole*, and *Romerec*²) now an old Witch, in her young days provoked by the heat of her Lust, ran from her Husband with her Paramour; with whom enjoying her beastly pleasure for some time, at length she was carried into a Wood, where she lived five years without remembering how she came there, or what befel her in that space; but that time being spent, she perceived her self possessed with the Devilish Spirit of Prophecy, and so returned to the City from whence she had fled a Strumpet, a *Pythonissa*; which being noised abroad, and coming to the Grand *Seignior*'s Ears, he caused her to be banished as a Portentous Evil out of *Constanti-*

*Cælique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent.
—Virgil, Aen., vi, 850 f.*

“They study astronomy chiefly for the purpose of becoming skilled in Judicial Astrology; a science in which the whole nation, from the monarch to the peasant, has the greatest faith” (Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, ii, 386).

² Pers. *Rūm*.

nople: Who thence wandering here and there, found small encouragement, till she came to *Suffahaun*, where being arrived, and the News brought to Court, without imprecation of the Gods to avert the mischief, she is the daily diversion of the *Persian* Monarch, and he delights to discourse her often.

She calls every one by their proper Name, though never seen before: She gives an account of actions past, both ridiculous and serious; which though it be the Emperor's sport to hear, the Courtiers are shy of her Company, because of reaping up their old Sins; and being proved in this point to answer expectation, it is granted that she can Divine future Contingencies; toward which the Genius of this Nation being disposed, she is esteemed not only by the King, but by all People as a Prodigy.

When she is seized with a Fit of Prophecy, the first insult begins, (where the Devil first entred,) at her Belly, which works strangely; and at such times there may be heard as it were the noise of Three or Four Kitlins, sucking and crying when she falls into an Extasy. After which, the Spirit seems to answer from the bottom of her Belly to all questions propounded; and being in this transport, gives this account of her self: "I (says she) am a Daemon, whether of an airy, fiery, or either substance compounded, I know not; nor of what Principles I am made, either heavenly or human; but that we are many and divided into Three Tribes or Orders; in every of which we have learned and wise, foolish and illiterate among us; the same Religions and Opinions prevail as are upon Earth; some professing Christianity, others Mahometism; and again others are Pagans and Idolaters, and there are some few Atheists among us: As for my share, I follow the *Persian* Sect of *Mahometism*, and confess my self an Ideot, understanding no other Language than *Turkish*" (where under a Cloven Foot may be discerned conforming to a

Foreign Religion, though skilled in no other Language but her Native; a pretty Wheedle to insinuate into the *Suffee's* favour) "if therefore any thing be asked beyond my reach, that needs an Expositor, I betake my self to some *OEdipus* of our Order, who unfolds the Mystery to me, whose Sense I only render for satisfaction of my Inquirers."

This being a new Doctrine to the *Suffee*, he commanded her to give him some Demonstration of the truth of what she had told; and therefore put her upon discovering how he might believe the airy Region to be peopled after this rate; she consented to convince him, and ordered all the Nobles attending the Emperor, to retire with him into one part of the Room, and leave her to work their Conviction, which she did after this manner:

Falling into her usual Trance, she at that instant wrought their Fancies to be persuaded of the confused Articulation of Multitudes met as in a Fair, conversing and making a chattering, to the amazing of them all.

Father *Raphiel* the *Capuchin*, who gave me this account, was set upon by the Emperor to encounter her; but he prudently enough avoided it, lest he might be brought into some *Præmunire* about Disputes of their Religion, in which he found the crafty Slut would involve him; but besides his single Testimony of this Affair, here are many *Turkish* Merchants in Town who all declare the same as to her being possessed, having known her many Years ago at *Constantinople*, from whence she was expelled by a special Precept of their *Sultan*.

Here is a large Field of Controversy offered, to wit the Possessions of *Cardan*, and the *Lapland* Witches; but these being Foreign to this intended Account, I purposely omit what might be said on this Subject, referring it to more accurate Pens.

But not to let the credit of this Opinion lie as if it were

of this *Beldams* broaching; *Plato* had long ago declared his approbation of it, that there were *Demons* wandering about the World: *In Epinomede: Summos Deos, ultra mundanos amplissimam rerum providentiam habere, sub his in calo quosdam conspicnos esse, tertio infimoque loco Daemones horum genus, unum ex aethere, alterum ex aere esse, at nentrum conspici totum potest; sed quamvis hi Daemones propè nos sint, nunquam tamen manifestò nobis apparent. Et mox; Alind vero ex aqua, &c. Post Daemones Heros.*

And what *Plato* promiscuously calls *Demons*, the *Latins* distinguish by their Offices, as those presiding over Countries are *Penates*; those over Families *Lares*; those that are frightful and terrible representations are *Larvæ* or Hobgoblins: But these that are Witnesses of the actions of every individual person are termed *Genij*, and those the Ancient *Greeks* called *Heroas*, the *Latins* gave the name of *Lemures*, Ghosts or Spirits to.

But to return to our Men of Learning, from whence we have been Will-ith-whispered; the Longitude and Latitude of the Stars are written in an intire Volume, together with eight and forty Signs beastly pictured; these compared with our Maps or Globes, differ seven or eight degrees in Longitude; only some few Minutes in Latitude.

Dialling and its profound Sections and Projections of the heavenly Circles in the Plain, by the mediating shadow from the World's Axis, is not understood by them; no more than *Conic's*, although *Apollonius* his Books are often turned over by them.

In Musick they lift up their Voices with a loud straining behind a Taber, which is the only Instrument, with the Flute, used with the Vocal; for Instrumental, they have little regard to Stringed, but the Orgiastick they are very expert at, and use it on all Festivals, at the Rising and Setting of the Sun in their publick Midans, or Courts, before the Emperor's Palace, as also before all their

Governors; though within doors they chuse the other, where the Stage-players, Tumblers, and dancing Wenches usher in their Interludes by Songs, Tabers, and Flutes.¹

At length I convert my self to that Noble and Excellent Art, so beneficial to the Life of Man, Physick; which though it be here in good Repute, yet its Sectators are too much wedded to Antiquity, not being at all addicted to find out its Improvement by new Enquiries; wherefore they stick to the *Arabian* Method as devoutly as to the Sacred Tripod, which they hold as Infallible as of old that *Delphic* Oracle was accounted.²

On which score Chymistry is hardly embraced; nor to the Pathological part do they think the Anatomical Knife can bring much Profit: However, many of them have Wealthy Presents from their Grandees.

Whoever applies himself to this Profession, takes a Master of that Calling, who Instructs him in the Stile and ordinary Characters of Medicine; where being throughly versed in the Employment, and able to set up for himself, he consults whereabouts the fewest Physicians are planted in the City, and the likeliest place to draw Customers to him; there he joins an Apothecary to him to make up his Prescripts, and sell them to his Patients, the half of which Gain comes into his Pocket: Thus by degrees increasing in Fame, he covets many Students to Read to, who are sure

¹ "The Persians deem music a science; but they do not appear to have made much progress in it" (Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, ii, 390). The musicians at feasts are usually three in number, one playing a stringed instrument (the *s.-ur*), one a drum (*dunbak*), consisting of an earthenware framework shaped something like a huge egg-cup, and covered with parchment at one end only, while the third sings to the accompaniment of his fellow performers (Browne, *A Year*, 109).

² Persian medicine, like that of India, divides drugs into two classes—"hot," useful in "cold" diseases: "cold," in those that are "hot." What Browne (345) calls "tincture of Al-Coran," made by writing a text from the sacred volume on the inside of a cup or saucer, and then dissolving it in water, is often used. For their dependence on Galen and Hippocrates, see Malcolm, *Hist.*, ii, 382 f.

to spread abroad his Fame, like so many Speaking-trumpets, and are sent about in quest of Prey, to bring in Game like so many Decoys.

But the Bait that takes most, are the Womens crying up their Man, when he is found to please them by a fair Carriage and voluble Tongue, who never leave off till they have rendred him gracious to all their Acquaintance; who flock to him in Droles, and are as full of Chat as a Magpy when she has found an Owl in the Wood at Noon day; nor wants he his Lime-twigs for such sort of Birds, by whose frequentings he arrives to the top of his hopes, and sucks those Riches *Galen* is said to offer his Disciples: *Dat Galenus opes.*

But as all the Eggs laid under one Hen do not always prove, so many of this Tribe miss their aim, and after an expence of time and endeavour; are forced to fall upon other Trades to get a Livelyhood. Here is no precedent License of Practising, but it is lawful for any one to exercise this Function who has the impudence to pretend to it.

The *Suffee* retains several in Ordinary, and others in Extraordinary, without any Salary; the Chief of whom is *Hakaim Bashee*,¹ and suffers on his Master's Death, not only Banishment from Court, but Dispoyling of all his Goods, and must acknowledge it a Favour to escape with Life.

In the matter of their Physick, Extracts, or Essences of Plants, Roots, or Minerals, are beyond their Pharmacy; only they use cooling Seeds, and Medicines of that nature; so that in repelling a Fever, they make but one work of that and the Innate Heat, where most an end both become extinguished at once; or at least, the Body is left in that condition, that Obstructions or an Ill Habit succeeds;

¹ *Hakim-bāshi*. Readers of "Hajji Baba" will remember Mirza Ahmak, the King's *Hakim bāshi* or chief physician.

although I am not ignorant, that sometimes after the greatest Care in Chronical Distempers, such things will happen, according to the Experience of *Hippocrates*, yet in Acute Distempers so frequently to fall into these Indispositions, I cannot excuse the Indiscretion of these Medicasters, whose Patients in *Suffahau* seldom pass out of this Life by any other way to their Graves.

Besides this Abuse, their Prescriptions are Pancrastical, a Salve for every Sore, without respect had to difference of Temperament, or Constitution; nay, or even to the Distempers themselves; but asking some frivolous Questions, viewing the Veins of the Hands and Feet, inspecting the Tongue, they write at adventure. The Apothecary dispenses the Ingredients into so many Papers, and leaves them to be boiled according to his Directions, and given to the Sick Party at such and such hours of such a day, by any good Woman, or heedless Servant: who not attending the Quantities of the Liquor more than the Qualities of the Ingredients, boil more or less, not as the Exigency either of the Medicines or the Patient requires, but as if they were to make Pottage, and give him to drink of this heterogeneous Broath, sometimes Three or Four Pints at a time; so that if it fails moving the Belly by its excitative Faculty, yet by its excessive Dose it makes way for Evacuation: And this they do repeat most an end for a Fortnight or Three Weeks together; which if it succeed not, another Physician is consulted; for among such store they think hard to miss of a Cure; and in that are so opinionated, that if their own Nation cannot give them Remedy, they think none other can. (Though as to Chyrurgery they are of another mind, thinking the *Europeans* better at Manual Operation than themselves.) But to proceed, being severely handled by one, they fly to another; and he from extreme Cold things runs upon the other extreme; so that between these two Rocks its no wonder the Patient so often mis-

carries, and so many concurring Causes joined with their Distemper, hurry them to another World.

Rhubarb, *Turbith*, and *Scammony*, are dreadful to them; but *Sena*, *Cassia*, *Manna*, and *Turpentine*, are swallowed without any apprehension of evil. Many of their Physicians insist on Diets unusual elsewhere, as Goats-flesh, Horses, Asses, and Camels flesh; for which reason they have distinct Shambles for the same purpose.

Avicen, *Averroes*, and *Khasis*, are known Authors among them; and among the most Learned, *Galen* and *Hippocrates*, and some more Modern, who have treated of *Botany*, and Human Parts.

Their Law forbids them to inspect a dead Carkass; they therefore lean implicitly on what they find among Ancient Anatomists, and yet think themselves at no loss in that Science; whence it is their Practice is lame, and their Theory no more than the prating of a Parrot.

Hence it follows they are imperfect in the Chyrurgeons Art; they can tell how to protract slight Wounds into Length of Time, but for things of real danger they are to seek which way to handle; especially where

Ense recudendum ne pars sincera trahatur.¹

The Knife is us'd to part the dead, and give
The Vital Part occasion to live.

Yet they are bold enough with the Blood, where they command Phlebotomy, bleeding like Farriers.

The Endemial Diseases of this Country, are Phrenses, Plurisies, Peripneumonies, Empyemaes, Catarrhs, distempers of the Eyes; Red Gum, which besets our Children in *Europe*, is pernicious to Old Age here; St. Anthony's Fire, or more properly the *Persian Fire*,² impressing on the adust Blood the nature of Atrabile: But the fashionable Malady of the Country is a Clap, scarce One in Ten being

¹ Ovid, *Metam.*, 1, 191.

² Pers. *ātish-i-Pārsī*, eysipelas.

free from it, which the unbounded Liberty of Women, Cheapness of the Commodity, and the Encouragement of their filthy Law, are main Incentives to. And to back this Lewdness, they bring the Example of their Prophet *Haly*, who lying down without a Female Companion, is reported to be Author of this doughty Dialogue between the Earth and him, wherein the Earth upbraided him by saying, "Whilst you lye on the Ground an unfruitful Log, a burthen to my sides, I sweat and labour in producing Vegetables, Minerals, and Animals for your use; Why then do you not busy your self in getting Children, to transmit your Offspring to Posterity?" Which pleasing Re-proof of the Venerable Prophet's recommending to his easy Disciples, they embrace with both Arms, while the Poyson creeps into the Marrow of their Bones, so that they are not come to Maturity, before they are rotten; though by reason of the Pureness of the Air, it seldom or never arrives to that height of Cruelty as in *Europe*; inasmuch as when any are so dealt by it, they reproach it with the *Frank Disease*, *Atechque Frangi*,¹ when it breaks out into Sores and Ulcers, after it has seized the whole Mass of Blood, and eats them up alive; while they wear theirs dormant almost to extreme Old Age, which makes them not much solicitous for Remedy, nor are there any who profess its Cure.

There is another Infirmitiy as general almost, proceeding from their Ceremonial Washing, when they exonerate, too frequent using of Baths, which causes a Relaxation of the Muscles of the *Anus*, whereby the great Gut of the Fundament falls down: Most of them by a Fulness of Body are subject to the *Hemorrhoids*; but what chiefly vexes them, walking or riding, (putting them into miserable Pain, and contorted Postures of the Back, and whole Trunk of the

¹ Pers. *atishak-i-farangi*, syphilis.

Body), is a *Fistula in Ano*, which they contract from their Athletick Temper, and constant being on Horseback; as has been observed not only by *Sennertus*, but *Platerus*, *Fernelius*, and others: Nor does it seldom fall out, from their aptness to Venery, and proneness to make use of Boys, that they are afflicted with terrible *Mariscae*, or swoln Piles of several forms, by them called *Obne*;¹ wherein Worms, as they perswade themselves, are bred, that excruciate them with such an Itch as they cannot lay, without adding Sin to Sin, and threin they report their Cure to be compleated; and this brings on them a white Leprosy, not incommoding the Body with Illness, but disgracing it with Spots in the Face, Arms, Thighs, Breast, and other parts about them. Children have frequently Scald Heads, which makes them keep close shav'd.

The Plague has not been known among them this Eighty Years and upwards, but the Spotted-Fever kills them presently, yet is not contagious: The *Bezoar*-stone in this Case is highly approved.

The Gout afflicts few here, the Pox commonly securing them from it; however as painful as that proves to their Bones, or rather Membranes surrounding them, they applaud all provocatives in Physick, and will purchase them at any Rates; which are sometimes so strong, that they create a continued Priapism to these Goats and Satyrs, and by their Bows being always bent, are brought to an Inability of reducing them.

To divert their Care and Labours, they are great Devourers of *Opium*, and *Koquenar*² (which is Poppy-heads

¹ Pers. *ubna*, piles resulting from vicious practices.

² Pers. *koknār*. "Large quantities of opium are consumed in the country. Almost three-fourths of the aged, of both sexes, are in the habit of taking from half a grain upwards, three times a day. . . . The 'teriakdan' [tiryāqdān], or opium pill-box, is in as common use in Persia as the snuff-box was in England." A man has been known to take seven five-grain pills within twenty-four hours (Wills, 181 f.).

boil'd), which they quaff when they have a mind to be merry; for which reason, as Hemp is sown among our Fens and Fields, so they sow Poppies, and when ripe, make Incision for the Juice, which gathering, they insipissate and eat; to do which, those unaccustomed adventuring unadvisedly upon too large a Dose, instead of the expected effect of cheering the Spirits, chain up the Vitals so that they are never loosed more, for they never awake from the Lethargy it intrances them in: So that they begin gradually, and then arrive to great Quantities; as from a Grain to half an Ounce, without any Harm, besides a frolicksome sort of Drunkenness; by means whereof, without any other Sustenance, they are qualified to undergo great Travels and Hardships: But having once begun, they must continue it, or else they dye; whereby it becomes so necessary, that if they mis-time themselves, as in their *Ramsan*, or on a Journey, they often expire for want of it: Yet those that live at this rate are always as lean as Skeletons, and seldom themselves; but such is their love towards it, that they give themselves up to the study of infatuating themselves by all the ways they can, never smoaking a Pipe without the Leafs of the intoxicating *Bang*, and Flowers of the same, mixed with their Tobacco; besides which, they contrive many more Medicines to put a Cheat upon the Pungency of their Cares, and drive Sorrow from their Hearts; which indeed diverts them for some few hours, till they return with a more fixed Melancholy, burthensome to themselves and others: While the Operation of their forced Mirth lasts, they are incapable at that time of any Business; Whence they proverbially say, *Belque Teriac ne resid¹* to any Trifler, or Fiery Spirit; That the Force of your Treacle you have eaten, still remains.

¹ *Balki tiryāq na-rasīd*, "perhaps the remedy will not come in time."

Moreover, they have other Treacles, such as are taken notice to be sold in the Markets, by *Apulcies*, and the *Circe* of *Homer*, prepared as Counter-Poysons, which are compounded of Garlick, Mother of Thyme, and other Herbs beaten together: That Rich one made use of only by the Nobles, is adventitious, and is brought by their Merchants from *Venice*, the Poor not being able to go to the Price of such Medicines or Physicians as exceed the common Rates; and therefore is it that their great Towns and Buzzars are full of Mountebanks, Charmers, and *Quacksalvers*, to gull them of their Cash.

After these Sons of Fate, follow the Lawyers, who hold the Chief *Cazy* or *Codre*¹ for their Oracle, which is here usurped by the *Mufti*, who substitutes others under him; who though the Course of Law meet mostly with quicker dispatch here than in *Europe*, yet they know well enough how to retard a gainful Cause; which is consentaneous enough to the Comedian,

*O Lernæam vere sobolem
Pragmaticorum, qui lites ex litibus serunt
Mortalibus immortaliter*—²

O wretched Crew of Pettifoggers, who
Raise Strifes from Strifes, the Client to undo.

¹ Probably Pers. *sadr*, "Chief Justice." In India at the present day the chief native Civil Judge is called *Sadr-i-sudūr*. Malcolm (*Hist.*, ii, 312) speaks of "the chief pontiff, or Sudder-ool-Suddoor, who was deemed the vicar of the Imām, and exercised a very extensive authority. The priesthood were all subordinate to this spiritual ruler, who resided at court, and with the approbation of the sovereign nominated the principal Judges." Mr. Irvine quotes from the *Ma'asir-ul-umara* (iii, 641), "Quwām-ud-dīn Khān, *sadr* of Irān." The duties of the *Sadr* are illustrated by Manucci's anecdote of Mīrzā Kūchak (i, 47 ff.). Also see Raphael du Mans, Capuchin, "Etat de la Perse an 1660," ed. C. I. Schefer, Paris, 1890, p. 160, where the word *sedr* is explained, "docteur investi de la plus haute fonction de la Magistrature."

² Prof. Bensly traces the quotation:

*at pravis litibus
Detentus hic ingratii, usque dum haereo,
Et usque, & usque. O Lernæam vere Sobolem
Pragmaticorum, qui lites ex litibus serunt*

Against whom he has set down this wholesome Advice;

*-Lites fuge,
Macrum arbitrium judicio potius est.*

Flee lingring Suits, a lean Arbitrament
Is more than Trial gain'd, when Money's spent.

Here are no Inns of Courts, or Courts of Chancery; no Mootings, or emulous Contests for Victory; no being called to the Bar, or a select, Learned, and upright Bench, which justly concert the Right of the Community; no distinct Courts, or subalternate Chambers to appeal to, which are illustrated with Venerable Knowledge of Eloquence and Oratory, besides the Splendor of Nobility and Majesty to adorn them: Here are no Counsellors, Advocates, or Secretaries distinguished by their Robes.

Here only a *Mullah* is chosen by the *Codre* or *Mufti*, to be *Cadi* (corruptly called *Kazy*) or Judge, in his own House, at his own time, and in no other Garment than usual, unless a Red Cap make some Note of Dignity.

To him comes the injured Party to complain of his Adversary, and implores the *Cadi* to do him Justice: At the *Cadi's* Elbow stand several Officers ready to execute his Commands, to whom he pays no Wages, but what they get by Catchpolling; to one of these he gives his Mandates, saying, *Fetch such an one hither*; who, glad of the Employment, seizes him by the *Cadi's* Authority, and brings him before him; nor shall he be let go, till he have discharged his Fees, guilty or not guilty; so close do these Harpies hold

*Mortalibus immortaliter! Lites fuge.
Macrum arbitrium opimo Judicio potius est.
Memento, fili—*

Ruggile, *Ignoramus*, Act I, sc. i (p. 3 in the third edition, 1658).

J. S. Hawkins's note on *Macrum arbitrium*, etc. in his edition (1787, p. 39) is: "This passage is a translation of the Italian proverb, 'Meglio è megro accordo che grazza sentenza,' A lean agreement is better than a fat sentence."

their Prey, that they never let go their Grasp, unless a Morsel be offered to their Mouths, in lieu of their Purchase.

Sometimes when the *Cadi* sits, one of the Parties is present, and the other absent; then a fresh Messenger is sent, and fresh Money must be paid; at other times both Contenders are present, and the *Cadi* sits not, and the Cause hangs in suspense while the Charges go on: But after delays of this kind, suppose they at length meet, and it prove matter of Debt contracted in the time of a former *Cadi*, whose Writing is produced and attested, when the *Cadi* gravely reproves the Debtor, Why dost thou not fear God and pay thy Debts? He nothing concerned at the Admonition, replies, this Bond and Hand-writing I know not, it may be Counterfeit, I never had any thing to do with this man. Here Bonds unattested are of no force, by reason of most impudent Cheats, but they must have not only One or Two Witnesses, but Thirty or Forty, and so to Sixty, who must be approved Men of Integrity, never accused to have told a Lie; and even then they will opposc their Evidence, insinuating, That for a small matter Knights of the Post may be Suborned, because that Interest may sway a many to be against one, and that a plain Truth may suffer through the conspiracy of a multitude: Moreover, if they should be detected, they only undergo a Reprimand from the *Cadi*, and no corporal Punishment, either of Death, or other Chastisement; and should it be like to go hard with the Defendant, or either Party, Plaintiff, or Defendant prove faulty, the conscious Party seeks out some Familiar of the *Cadi's*, employed on this account to sollicit the *Cadi* in his behalf, and secretly he obliges himself, either by Bond or Deed, to Bribe the *Cadi* to be his Friend, and therefore, either a Pledg is deposited, or good Sureties brought to satisfy the *Cadi*.

In the mean while both being driven away from the

Judgment-Seat, the *Cadi* with severe looks and angry words, threatens the Delinquent to clear his Debt; when begging for readmittance, he entertains the Creditor with a pleasing smile, and tells him, Justice is from God; at the which he chears himself up with the hopes of receiving his Money, and the corrupt judge acts his Cue so well, that few suspect otherwise; when the other Party, as if hard measure were offered him, creeps with a dejected countenance to the feet of the *Cadi*, calling him *Mirza*,¹ (a Title for the most noble Courtier) let me beg the favour of being heard but one word; the *Cadi*, as if provoked to wroth, bids him speak; when he goes on, Your Worship knows in this City there are such who on purpose are set to practise Cheats, that will do it so exactly, that the most discerning Eye shall not discover the Fallacy, and that Money will purchase Witnesses, therefore let the Oath be put to me against my Adversary, otherwise by these Tricks what Wealthy Man in *Suffahaun* can escape Poverty?

This Gap being opened, the *Cadi* with a milder countenance asks him, if he dear swear this Debt to be unjust; then lays open to him the horrid Sin of Perjury, how that Hell flames are prepared both by God and their Prophet for breaches of Faith, and those that presume on that manner can never escape Damnation; whereat shaking the Borders of his Garments, as it were with pure hands brushing them, he answers, I fear God, and from my Youth hitherto have never omitted our prescribed Prayers, or the Fasts enjoined by our Law, and for my Honesty none can reprove me; besides, I am an *Hodgee*, and have the Honour conferred on me to be one of the Sons of the Prophet, and can any of that Sacred Stock tell a Lie? Then the *Cadi*

¹ Pers. *mirzā*, "son of a Mir or Amīr." When placed before a name it corresponds to our "Mr." or "Esq." or the Khān of Hindustani Musalmāns: in Persia, placed after a name, it means Prince.

calls for the *Alcoran*, which being brought, he rises out of reverence to the Divine *Code*, and Exhorts, Admonishes, and Preaches; yet he fearless lays his Hand on the Book, and by Swearing with a loud Voice that he owes him nothing, is dismissed from ever being accountable more; for here are no other judiciary proceedings or Tribunals to appeal to, where Mistakes may be rectified, or Inadvertency by too precipitate a Sentence corrected.

Punishment in Criminal Causes are mightily biassed by Gold, which at any time or place shall prevail more than Right; but if it cannot be bought off, *lex Talionis*,¹ an Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth, is the Law, according to *Moses's* Institution, and the Execution is committed to the fury of the Friends.

For Theft Immuring serves turn, where they can make no other retribution, and for *petty Larceny*, and for correcting of their Slaves and Servants, drubbing on the Soles of their Feet beyond *Moses's* allowance, laying thereon some hundreds of Blows, that they are disabled to walk a long time after.²

The Law of like for like, affords us this memorable passage of the Emperor *Severus*, who made a bold Impostor in his Court undergo a suitable Punishment for his Offence, who had deluded several of his Courtiers with great Promises, and never had effected any; wherefore on their complaint, the Emperor commanded him to be stifled with Smoak, and the Crier at the same instant to make

¹ Ar. *qisās*, for which see Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, 481 f., and vol. i, note 1; ii, 206, 245.

² The bastinado, originally a Mongol form of punishment (Marco Polo, i, 267) has been fully described by Tavernier (44) and Curzon (i, 457), the latter remarking that it does not involve disgrace, says that "theory of hereditary transmission must almost be invoked to explain the phenomenal hardness of Persian soles." Goldsmid (537) gives an illustration of the contrivance (*salaq*) by which the feet of the sufferer are raised. Drubbing with a whip took its place in India (Barbosa, 89; Manucci, ii, 450).

proclamation, *qui fumum vendidit eodem pœnas dat*, Who Sold Smoak perishes therewith. But this Law, though it seems the most equal among many Nations, cannot square in all points without difficulty, therefore it is the more prudently among us referred to the determinations of the Judges in Life and Death; who are to give Sentence according to their discretion and the common usages in Capital Offences.

Since Celibacy is exploded by their Law, simultaneous Poligamy is not only Tolerated but Commanded, and Whoring is reckoned Meritorious among the *Moors*; for this carnal Gospel allows Four Lawful Wives in Matrimony at one and the same time, besides Concubines, an indefinite Number, as every one's substance is able to provide for with Serving-maids and Slaves; besides which they may have for a determinate Price, such as they shall hire for an Hour, Day, Month, or Year; and any Born in these Three Families of Bedfellows, may be reputed as Legitimate, provided the reputed Father claim two parts, and the Woman one of the Child; whereby however speciously they boast of the Clarity of their Stock, it is apparent from what Puddle it is derived.¹

All Women here, contrary to our Custom, are Bought with a Price, the Husband that is to be, Bargaining to give so much for his Wife's Virginity by strict Indentures before the *Cadi*.

Divorces are common among the ordinary People, though

¹ The texts on the subject of polygamy are collected by Hughes (*Dict. Islam*, 462 ff.); and for the *mut'ah* or temporary wife, *ibid.* 424; Malcolm, *Hist.* ii, 428. The legality of the latter practice was debated in the Court of Akbar, when Budāoni thus explained the law: "Imām Mālik and the Shī'ahs are unanimous in looking upon *Mut'ah* marriages as legal; Imām Shāfi'i and the Great Imām (Hanifah) look upon *Mut'ah* marriages as illegal. But, should at any time a Qāzī of the Mālikī sect decide that *Mut'ah* is legal, it is legal, according to the common belief, even for Shāfi'i's and Hanafis. Every other opinion on this subject is idle talk." This pleased his Majesty very much (*Āīn*, i, 174).

seldom among the great ones, who count it a shame.¹ A Bill of Divorce called *Talak* is taken out when there is either an aversion from the Bed, or there are conceived home-bred troubles on account of the former Obligation, or when they have engaged themselves to perform more than they are able, then they make quarrels among the Wives, setting them together by the Ears, and the Man grows surly to the new married Wife, not only giving her ill Language, but cruel Blows more than she can bear; who presently runs to the *Cadi* for a Divorce; but he willing to pacify them, returns her to her Husband with Exhortation to live peaceably; whereupon the Siege is renewed, and fresh Assaults are made by new Torments, till she have remitted part of her Dowry, if not the whole.

Sometimes she retires to her Father's House, the Portion being retained, whence arise new Jars. The Husband going to the *Cadi* complains the Father keeps his Wife from him, and intreats his Warrant to fetch her back; where being brought afore the *Cadi*, and the Father with her to demand her Portion, she opens against her Husband, and he against her, with that noise and thunder, that often the *Cadi* being tired with their bellowing and roaring on all sides, cries out, they kill me with their bawling; and though he command silence, it is to no purpose, till being thoroughly vexed, he cause the men to be *Bastinadoed*, who though they were deaf to Words, must give ear to Blows, for they esteem it even indecent to lay hand on a Woman, or to strike her before Folks.

¹ For the laws of divorce, see Hughes (*Dict. Islam*, 86 ff.) It is called *talāq*. After both forms of divorce—"regular" (*talāqul-ahsan* or *hasan*), and "irregular" (*talāqul-badī*)—the divorced wife cannot, in any circumstances, return to her husband until she has been married, and cohabited with, and divorced by another husband. Hence the device of the temporary, nominal husband (*mustahall*), which is amusingly illustrated in the tale of Ala al-Din Abu al-Shamat (Burton, *Arabian Nights*, iii, 175 ff.).

If the Man propound the Divorce, and the Woman accept it, the *Cadi* pronounces the decisive Sentence, because the *Mahometan* Law observes to keep the right thereof in the power of the Man, not the Woman: But if the perverse Woman insists in her resolution of Divorce after the *Cadi* hath persuaded her to cohabit, and the Man refuse to give it her, the *Cadi* declares them to be separated; but the Woman in this condition cannot marry again, as being bound to her Husband; wherefore the *Cadi* commands the Man to give her Alimony, and maintain her at his own Charges while they refuse to live together; but if they can reconcile themselves, they may come together without the *Cadi's* revoking his Interdict for the first and second time of Divorce; but after the third time they cannot come together without abominable Sin; yet such is the Heat of Lust in these Countries, that the Women cannot abstain from the Man, no more than the Men from the Women; wherefore if she takes another Husband, and some Months or Years living with him, if she will, she may be Divorced from him, and return to her first Husband.

To the *Cadi's* Cognizance belongs all manner of Contracts, Conveyances, and Settlements; to which purpose near his Door are such as make Instruments ready written for sale, in the Stile of their Law, to be presented for the *Cadi's* perusal: Into which inserting the Names of *John-a-Nevs*, and *John-a-Stils*, *Zeid*, and *Ambre*,¹ the *Cadi* calls aloud, *Zeid*; where art thou? Who answers here, upon appearance: When the *Cadi* proceeds; This House, Garden, or Land, or any thing of that kind, Dost thou sell willingly, and of thy own accord to *Ambre*? He, affirming, *aree*,² yes. Is the price agreed between you? Yes. Where are your Witnesses? says the *Cadi*; Then he replies, I have brought them, who answer for themselves; the *Cadi* asks

¹ Zayd.

them, Do you know this to belong to *Zeid?* Who affirm, it is known to all the Town, even to the Children.

The *Cadi* after these Interrogatories, lifts up his Voice, and says, Does no one forbid this Contract? At which, they jointly cry aloud, no one forbids: Whereupon the *Cadi* calls for his Seal, which are words Engraven on Silver and dipping it in Ink, stamps it three or four times in three or four places, especially at the junctures of the Indenture, that no room may be left for fraudulent dealing, they not putting their own Hands, nor delivering it as their Act and Deed; but the *Cadi* makes the Obligation firm on this wise.

Usury is forbid by *Mahomet*,¹ yet no place extorts more for Money lent; for Ten *Thomands* in a year, shall at a moderate Calculation bring them in Thirteen every year, for the Needy giving a Pledge (without which they do nothing) to the Broaker or Usurer, which you please. Ten *Thomands* are procured for a Month, on condition he pays a *Thomand* for a Months Interest, and the Principal to be payed in, or the Pledge become forfeited; and for the first Months Interest he subducts beforehand, a *Thomand*, constraining the Borrower to return the Ten intire, or else seize the Pawn; such intolerable exactions befitting only *Turk*, *Jew*, and *Indian Banyan*, who reap such unconscionable Gain by this Trade.

Those who desire to secure their Money thoroughly, come to the *Cadi* for a Bond, being agreed first on their Contract among themselves to pay Fifteen, Twenty, and sometimes Thirty *Thomands* for the use of one Hundred for one year. When the Money is brought in Two Bags, with a Knife, Book, or Mantle, and the Owner *Zeid* cries

¹ "They who swallow down usury, shall arise in the Last Day as he ariseth, whom Satan has infected by his touch" (*Qur'an*, Sūrah, ii, 276; and see 11ughes, *Dict. Islam*, 656 f.).

out before the *Cadi*, sitting on the Seat of Justice: "I *Zeia* do give frankly for the space of one year One hundred *Thomands*; but I sell this Book for Fifteen, Twenty, or Thirty *Thomands* to *Ambre*, and he is content to give it; therefore I desire in the presence of the *Cadi*, that *Ambre* may be obliged at the years end to repay me my Hundred *Thomands*, according to agreement," and then seizes the Fifteen, Twenty, or Thirty *Thomands*, according to agreement for the Book; or if he lets him have the whole hundred, the *Cadi* asks *Ambre*, "Art thou content to give this Sum?" And he answering, "*aree*, yes," goes on, "so thou art Debtor to *Zeid* an Hundred and Fifteen, Twenty, or Thirty *Thomands*, payable this time Twelve Months, being fully expired"; to which he replying "*aree*," it is *valid* in Law: In which Form of Writing such caution is used, that they trust not Figures, nor bare Words that express the Sum intire, and at length, but half it and part it to prevent equivocation. For Example, the Sum of an Hundred Fifteen *Thomands* is the Principal, the half whereof is Fifty seven, and an half; the Fifth part is Twenty three; deluding hereby the skill of the most subtle Sophister, since the Subsequents so inexpugnably strengthen the Antecedents.

They have another way of borrowing Money upon an House, which they pawn for a certain Sum for so many years, and Hire their own House of the Creditor at his terms, till the Sum be payed;¹ in which if there happen any lapse or failure, the House becomes forfeit at the end of the time, and is seized for the use of the Creditor, as well as if the Principal be not restored: And this is held good in Law among them.

Besides the *Cadi*, they have another Splitter of Causes,

¹ He seems to refer to the form of mortgage known as *Bai'bi'l-wafa*, conditional sale or mortgage, for the law regarding which see Baillie's *Digest of Moohummadan Law*, 807 ff.

called *Sheik el elloum*,¹ being Interpreter of the Ancient Laws, or something like our Court of *Chancery*; (the other being for the Common-Law) who sits in his own House also without any subalternate Jurisdiction.

Nor does the *Codre*- or *Mufti* disdain to Hear sometimes; but this Eagle catches not at Flies, *huc Aquila non capit Muscas*, the most weighty Affairs being reserved for his Audience.

And through these muddy Streams runs the Law over all the Realm, they acting under the *Canons* in the several Districts, and the *Codre* under the Emperor; which how consentaneous to self-preservation, let any one judge, where Bribery and Extortion get the upper-hand: For where Nature has prescribed that Rule as a Fundamental Maxim, That every man without respect to any ought to Patronize the innocent, or help the injured, whereby we seek to uphold the Community, and therein indeed preserve our selves, how can this come to pass, unless it should be alike diffusive to all, whereby every one of us become united in the same Law of Nature? which if Magistrates would consider, they would find the stress of the Argument lie thus, To preside is to do right and profitable things, agreeable to the Laws of self-preservation; for as the Rulers are over the People, so the Laws ought to be above the Rulers, I mean so far as to Govern by them, and act nothing contrary to them: Nor can that Man be just or virtuous, who conforms himself to any other Sentiments; or are they otherwise to be esteemed, than those whose Senses being depraved have not the true relish of their Food; who enslave the Laws, and act not within their prescript, and must come under the denomination of lustful, flagitious,

¹ *Shaikh-al-'ulām*, "Master of Sciences," who seems to resemble the Shaikh-ul-Islām, "elder of the faith, his supreme Judge, who interprets the Shar'a or written law" (Malcolm, *Hist.*, ii, 316).

² See vol. iii, 101.

covetous, and insensible persons, who have not the true Taste of Justice, but stupidly follow the Dictates of their own Wills; which is too truly the Case of this Government.

Nor need this be wondered at, since even their *Summum bonum* is placed in such Sensualities, as no ways consist with rectified Reason.

A Paradise Calculated for their blockish Temper, whose Reach is not superior to the groveling Beasts, and therefore aim at no higher Felicity;¹

Which makes them rely on their Interpreters of their Law when they preach, That after this Life the blessed *Mahometans* are to be received into pleasant Gardens, where they are to lie under the spreading Boughs of shady Trees; Clothed with soft Raiments; Adorned with most costly Gems; hung with Rich Chains, and Precious Rings; fed with the most delightful Fruits, delicate Fowls, and inticing Cates; shall quaff the best *Nectar* to Eternal Healths, without Intemperance; their Liquors distilling from Vines that are not ebriating, which shall never offend the Brain; their Couches shall be stuffed with the yielding Down; their Quilts shall lightly press their Bodies; and Virgins with never-dying Beauty shall bear them Company, who shall love none besides their own Husbands, nor never be less Virgins than when first enjoyed, constantly renewing a full Tide of Glee, which is never to

¹ “The goods of this world, and every earthly enjoyment, were the pious prize for the valour of the faithful soldier who drew his sword against infidels; and if he fell, a paradise was provided, and he was promised eternal youth, amid scenes where palaces of gold and rubies, virgins of never-fading beauty, clear streams, and sweet-scented groves, were to afford him eternal bliss” (Malcolm, *Hist.*, i, 135; ii, 223 ff.; and compare Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*, i, 83; Herbert, 266 f.; Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, 68 ff.). On the other hand Ameer Ali (*Islam*, 13) writes: “it is a calumny even against those Mussalman liberals to say that they look forward to sensual enjoyment in the next world. The pictures in the Koran of the joys and pains of after-life, though poetical and vivid, give no warrant for such assertions.” Burton (*Ar. Nights*, ii, 245; vii, 381) says that “only ignorance or pious fraud asserts it [Paradise] to be wholly sensual.”

Ebb into dull Sadness, but continue an uninterrupted course of self-complacency. These are the Excellent Attainments of their Celestial Happiness, and those that think these Promises of no avail, their Prophet denounces Hell-fire and Brimstone for their Unbelief.

Flectere si nequeat superos Acheronta movebit.¹

If in his Heaven they doubt there is no Room,
Hark how he Thunders out his fearful Doom.

They shall be punished in smoaky Fire and Brimstone; their Meat shall be Pitch and Tar, mixed with Lime and Hair; their Drink a Composition of Flame, which shall cause intolerable Pains.²

A Religion suitable enough to this *Meridian*, where *Polygamy*, or the use of many Women is Authorized, which from these Borders has exspaciated it's self over the whole *East* with such impetuousness, that from the stinking Lake in *Arabia*, whence it first sprang, it has like a Torrent ran bearing all before it: Until it was a little distracted by the *Ottoman* and *Suffean* Factions, but so that its Course was not broken, but divaricated into two Streams, and so became more diffused, and the Channels made more rapid and extensive; so taking is this Doctrine, fitter for Brutes than Men.

For Man, to speak with the Philosopher, whether God or Nature the Mother of all things has given him a Soul, than which nothing can be more Sublime or more Divine, can he be so stupid or senselessly abject to imagine there should be no difference betwixt him and Four-footed Creatures? *Homo enim, ut cum Philosopho dicam, cum illi sive Deus, sive Mater rerum omnium Natura, Animam de-*

¹ *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo*—Virgil, *Aen.*, vii, 312.

² For the tortures of the Muhammadan hell see Hughes, *Dict.* 170 ff.

derit, quo nihil praestantius neque divinius sic ipse se abjectet ac prosternat, ut nihil inter illum & quadrupudem putat? On which consideration it might well be concluded with what the Author of *Religio Medici*¹ writes on this Subject: The *Alcoran* is a Book composed unadvisedly, stuffed with idle and ridiculous Errors in Philosophy; sustained by apparent Solicisms, Subterfuges of Ignorance, the decrying of Academies, and the banishing of all manner of Learning, upheld by Force more than Reason, the Fortune of their Arms being their greatest Argument. To which *Lypsius* consents, *O Nugamenta, &c.* which made *Avicenna*, (of an extraordinary Happiness of Wit, though unhappily born under the *Mahometan* Sect, after he had seriously reflected on the Imposture,) blush to think their Prophet had placed Eternal Felicity in a life of Carnal Pleasures; insomuch that he was forced to confess he could do no otherwise than abjure his Faith to become Master of his Reason. "For, says he, The Law *Mahomet* has delivered to us, has limited both Beatitude and Misery under Corporal Terms; but the Promises and Hopes of Eternity, must be of other Blessings more refined sure and solid, which can no ways be conceived but by an immaculate and rectified Intellect, and the highest pitch of Ingenuity. *Avic. Lib. i Phil. c. 1. apud Jovellum.* Respecting herein what our Divines have rightly determined, That Spiritual Benedictions, abstracted from Earthly (as too mean) are the chief Objects of Happiness, whereby we are united to the first Truth: And for no other end were we created by God, and a Soul stamped

"The Alcoran of the Turks (I speak without prejudice,) is an ill-composed Piece, containing in it Vain and ridiculous Errors in Philosophy, impossibilities, fictions, and vanities beyond laughter, maintained by evident and open Sophisms, the Policy of Ignorance, deposition of universities, and banishment of Learning, that hath gotten Foot by Arms and violence: this without a blow hath disseminated it self through the whole Earth" (Sir T. Browne, *Religio Medici*, Part I, Sect. xxiii, ed. Greenhill, p. 41).

on our Body, and on our Soul Intelligence or Understanding, says the same *Lysius*, but that we should live faithfully and godly on the Earth, and thereby proceeding towards Heaven, we should, being blessed together with him, reap Everlasting Felicity, which should be so, because Spiritual, which is Eternal; not Carnal, which vanisheth of its self, and passeth away, being but Temporary: And then, if the Happiness expected hereafter by all wise men, is Spiritual, our present Worship here ought to be directed thither, of which *M. T. Cicero*, though an *Ethnick*, was not ignorant, who has transmitted it as a Rule to Posterity, *Lib. 2. De Nat. Deorum, Cultus autem Deorum, optimus, idemque castissimus, atque sanctissimus, plenissimusque Pietatis, ut eos semper purâ integrâ incorruptâ mente & voce veneremur*: The adoring of the Gods ought to be the best Service we can pay them, which must be most chast, and holy, and full of Piety, that we may always reverence them with a pure, intire, uncorrupt Mind and Voice. And *Hermes, θρησκεία τοῦ θεοῦ μία*.

And hence by the Mouths of the Heathens it is allowed, that an Holy and Pure Profession is an entrance to the Celestial Mansions. What better Conduct, what holier Guide than the Captain of our Salvation, the ever Blessed Jesus? who hath by his Apostle given us the true Characteristick of the Right Religion, *which is first pure, then peaceable*.

Then what depravity of understanding hath corrupted the Minds of these Sectators, that hath framed to themselves a nasty Stable, more full of Filth than *Augeus* his, instead of that beautiful and undefiled Structure of the Gospel; and for the most Holy and Pure Doctrine taught by Christ, embrace with prostrate Body and bended Knees, the Libidinous and Lascivious Worship of *Mahomet*? What Stupidity, what Inchantment bewitches them to admit an Impostor for a Prophet, a Deluder for a Saviour; for a *Juno*, as *Ixion* did, to grasp a Cloud?

Nor let Success animate them, since it is an Argument might serve the *Gentiles* as well as them, whose numbers exceed all the Controverted Religions put together, whom St. *Paul*,¹ their professed Emissary, brands with unadvised Piety, and lays them under equal Condemnation; where he conjoins the Folly, *τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*, i.e. *What can be known of God, is manifested among them;* and *ἐσκοτίσθη,* *their foolish heart is darkened;* which is the fault of the *Mahometans* as well as them, because the pravity of their Understandings has corrupted their knowledge of God, the only True God, whereby they should know his only Son Christ Jesus, and him crucified, to fulfil both the Law and the Prophets. Thus from the previous Knowledge or Idea of Religion, as it is either true or false, so it happens there results a true Piety, Superstition or Idolatry, which would clearly appear, were Reason Master of our Conceptions.

CHAP. XIV.

The Appellations of the Warrior and the Scholar; of the Merchant, and Mechanicks and Villains; of their Garb, Civility of Manners, Facetiousness, Revelling, Sports, Weddings, Cleansings and Burials; of their Women, and License of Curtisans. The Eunuchs, Virtues and Vices; and lastly, their Suppntations of Coin, Measures and Time.

AND now being about to dismiss the Two Upper Forms from farther examination, we shall part with them with their proper Appellatives; The Warrior blustering in the Title of *Begue*,² and the Gown-man priding himself in the courteous Name of *Mirsa*;³ who being thus Marshalled

¹ *Epistle to the Romans*, i, 21.

² *Beg*, old Pers. *baga*: Skt. *bhaga*, "lord."

³ Vol. iii, 104.

with Respect, and passed by with what Order they are allowed,

The Crowding Multitude press for Admittance, scarcely affording Priority to the Wealthy Merchant; the most Honourable of whom are the *Armenians*, and therefore styled *Cogy*,¹ or Rich, by the *Persians*; though even among the *Persians* many covet to be so reputed, but care not to measure the wide World, like them, venturing no farther than over to *India*, which is their *ne plus ultra*, while the diligent *Armenian*,

*Per Mare per Terras, per quod legit omnia, Cælum.*²

By Sea and Land does search for Store,
And all Heaven's Covering ransacks o're.

The *Moors* are by Nature, heavy, dull and lazy; and were they not stimulated by Necessity, would not trot from their own Homes; for they are content with the Rags of Poverty, rather than to put their Hands to labour; and when they do exert their Faculties, they rather study to impose by Fraud, than by Industry and honest Gain to repair their Fortunes.

Underpullers to these are the Shopkeepers, whose Mercurial Parts are fitted to put off the worst Wares, by making appearance of the best, either by false Lights, or crafty obtruding the Choicest to the view on their Stalls, and foisting Goods disagreeable to the Patterns on their Chapmen.

Nor are the Handicraft free from Sophistry, having tasted the same *Pluitre*; the Cook, a Cheating Knave, will sell Asses, Camels, or Horse Flesh, instead of Ox's; and that often fetched out of the High-ways, being killed with Labour, or dead of Diseases, while the Unwary Buyer pays for wholesome Food.

¹ Pers. *khwājah*, "lord," "gentleman."

² *Ante mare et terras et quod legit omnia coelum* (Ovid, *Metam.* i, 5).

The Baker mixes with his Meal some Chalky Earth, which the Imprudent suppose to be good Wheat; though these when detected (as intimated already) suffer severely for it.

The Artizans also conspire in this, that Strangers are to be cozened; from whence results the necessity of employing Broakers or *Banyans*, that the *Cretes* may deal with the *Cretes*; or as our *English* Proverb hath it, *Always set a Knave to catch a Knave.*

For all these Miscarriages, not the Government so much, as the Administrators of Justice, are to be blamed: For the Laws are sound enough, were not the Magistrates faulty in the Execution; and the Reason is plain, their Offices being purchased at high Rates, indirect Courses must be taken to repay themselves: Wherefore there is hardly any Villany unconnived at, if they bribe but honestly, and have the wit not to be open in their Cheats; so that those, whose duty it is to preserve the Commonweal, are so far from being intent thereon, that on the contrary, their main scope is directed how to vex and oppress the Innocent; whereby, instead of being Dispensers of Equity and Right to the Citizens, they are the only Plague and Grievance they lie under: For their Gain arises mostly from the Ills they contrive for those under their malevolent Authority, as may appear by the subsequent, much to be lamented Story.

A certain *Droger*¹ or *Calenture*² of a City, being introduced by the power of Gold, that he might the better make himself whole, began to ruminate within himself (nor is the Devil wanting to such Servants;) wherefore, besides the usual Exactions, to wit, to load the Rich with Injuries, Tributes, Prison, Stripes and Shackles; whereas he could not bring that to account to all, he devised a more sure and

See vol. iii, 23.

² See vol. ii, 204, 357.

available Stratagem; he enters a League and Amity with all the Men of Note, treats them civilly abroad, and invites them friendly at home, but not without design; entertaining at the same time correspondence with all the Pimps, Panders and Bawds of the Town, and charges the latter to mix with all the lawful Wives in the publick Baths (since only Men of the highest Rank have them in their Houses) and to observe their Manners, Gestures, Garments, Shoes, and their very Smocks, and give him an account; nor dare they be deficient in their part: At the next Assembly, where every one strives to the utmost of his Gravity to behave himself, he puts on a sober Vizor, looks concerned, and out of order; after many Expressions of sincerity, and a deep sense of Honour, he bursts out into heavy sighs, at which the Good Man, to whom he directs his Discourse, afflicted to see him in these Dumps, must to his own ruin ask the occasion of his sudden alteration: He craftily returns, The business is no otherwise mine, than as it relates to my Friend, whose Credit is dearer to me than mine own, nor can I endure to see him abused; then the deceived *Coxe* grows more instant, begging that he would not conceal it from him.

The *Droger* being Master of his Science, persists; What comfort can I reap from your disturbance? It were better I should be silent; yet—whereat the other inflamed, thinking the Miscarriage aimed at him, greedily swallows the Bait; and whilst he endeavours to clear the doubt, is much more intricated than before, and therefore leaves not off till he have wrought him to discover the dangerous Secret; the *Droger* with much ado suffers himself to be overcome, and then he declares, to his great grief, he took his Wife in Adultery with a Scoundrel, on whom, according to the Law, he inflicted sudden Death, as he deserved; but for the Respect born to him, he permitted his Lady to escape; nor had he made more words of it, had not he extorted

this Confession; nor should he have known it, even at this time, had he not feared some less affected to him might have reproached him openly, with what he now privately advised him only of, otherwise it should have been buried in silence for all him.

The Husband astonished, by degrees hardly recovers himself, but speaking incoherently as his Temper provokes him; sometimes breaks forth in a passion and hurries to the destruction of his Wife and Children, sacrificing all to his Fury, cutting off both Root and Branch by a desperate depriving them of their Lives; than which the *Droger* desires not a greater benefit, seising both him and his Goods for satisfaction of the Law: But if he begins to consider, and coolly to examin how can this be? Such a night I am sure she lay with me, or was so and so employed at such a time in her own House.

The *Droger* in nothing abashed, goes on, Has not your Wife such a sort of Smock? Such a Pair of Breeches? Such a Vest? And then particularizes her Habit; which things are too well known by him to be denied, and so is possessed with a belief of the Levity of his Wife, and the Kindness of the *Droger* not to publish his Shame; which compells him to gratify the Favour by good Sums of Money, and either Repudiate, Beat, or Kill his Innocent Wife for the malicious and wicked Invention of an unjust Magistrate.

Hitherto we have taken notice of little change in Apparel to distinguish them, the *Patricii*, or Nobles, being of the same make with the meaner Multitude, only their every-day Cloaths surpass in Richness, being *Surbaffs*,¹ or Cloath of Silver or Gold, and the middle Sort only appear so on great days, otherwise they are Habited alike, unless Business, or Necessity of the Weather create a difference; they

¹ See vol. ii, 167, 248.

Ride shorter, and are booted over their Stockins, with a kind of Buskin with flat Heels, only shod with an Iron Horse-shoe; in the Winter they wrap themselves in Furs, and in the Summer-time go in looser as well as lighter Garments: Most an end their Stockins and upper Jerkins are made of *English* Broad Cloth; within doors they are clad more carelessly, as also when they are on Foot near their own Homes.

But the set Dress of the *Persian* is after this manner; His Head being Shaved, a large Turbat is placed upon his Crown, of divers Colours, either Silk or Cotton, in the Figure of an over-grown Cabage, with a great broad Leaf a top, which is wrought of Gold or Silver, and spread to make a shew; his Beard is Cut neatly, and the Whiskers kept in Cases, and encouraged from one Ear to the other, in fashion of an Half-Moon on the upper Lip, with only a decent Peak on the under; not so mossy or slovenly, as either *Turkish* or *Indian Mahometans*: Next, upon his Body is a Shirt, which he covers with a Vest, tied double on his Breast, and strait to his Body as far as the Waste, from whence it hangs in Pleats to his Ancles, sometimes Quilted, sometimes not; his Loins are Girt with *Phrigian* Girdles¹ or rich Sashes, above which his Belt carries a Falched Sword or Scimiter; from his Hips long close Breeches of Linnen, come down to his Hose, of *London* Sackcloth² of any Colour, which are cut loose, not respecting the shape of the Leg; over all a loose Coat of the same, without Slceves, Lined with Furs, or Sables, or else Silk; the outside either Scarlet, or the finest Wool of *Europe*, or Cloath of Silver or Gold of their own Manufactory; his

¹ The shirt (*pūrāhan*), vest (*arkhalug*), and girdle (*shālkamar* or *kamarband*), still form the Persian dress, and are described by Morier (*First Journey*, 243 ff.: Wills, 317 f.) See Tavernier's account, in much greater detail, of Persian dress (237 f.).

² See vol. ii, 164, 249.

Shoes of the best Shagreen Leather, mostly Green, with narrow Toes, high narrow Heels, shod with neat Iron Half-moons, without Shoe-ties or Quarters to pull up about their Heels, being the readier to slip off and on as occasion requires; instead of Gloves they Tincture not only their Hands, but Feet, with a dark Red Colour, which they do with the *Alkana*,¹ or *Hen* of the *Arabs*, small Twigs of which Plant *Lobelius* writes, are brought out of *Africa* to be Sold, wherewith they Dye their Hair Yellow, or of a sandy Red; and not only the *Turks*, who are delighted with that Colour, stain their Hair, but their Hands and Feet, with the Nails on each, and other parts of the Body, to restrain Sweating and filthy Smells proceeding therefrom, *Plat. p. 165. de Discoloratione.* Both which are mistakes, in relation to the staining of the Hair, but as to the other part it is true.

They only use a Glove when they carry their Hawks on their Fists, with which they are as often seen to carry them on Foot, as on Horseback. And thus have we Robed the Sparkish *Persian* in his City Dress; and now we shall attend the Ruder and less carefully Attired Rustick about his Country Affairs; which we shall bring under a Three-fold consideration; for whether they be Carriers, Herds-men, or Farmers, or rather Hinds, they are all Vassals to supreme Masters.

The first therefore are such as Travel to and again, who must not enter upon that Trust without a sure Return. non

¹ Ar. *al-hinnā*. "They paint their hands with a red or tawny colour, which both cools the liver, and in war makes them (as they say) victorious: their nailes are particoloured, white and vermillion; and why so I cannot say, unless in imitation of King *Cyrus*: who in augmentation of honour, commanded his Heroes to tincture their nailes and faces with vermillion, serving both to distinguish them from the vulgar sort, and (as did our warlike Brittains) in fight to show more terrible" (Heibert, 225). For this use of the plant *Lawsonia alba* or *incrm:s*: see Watt, *Econ. Dict.*, iv, 597 f.: Curzon, ii, 501 f.: Burton, *Ar. Nights.* vi, 40. The note in Dalboquerque, *Comm.*, iv, 37. needs revision.

est abire domo vacuumque redire; for they, for so many Beasts of Burthen, with their Bells and Trappings, much like our Pack-Horses, (suppose Twenty Mules, Thirty Asses, Forty, Fifty, Hundred, Two hundred, more or less committed to their Care,) stipulate for an equivalent Profit to the Owners; the Pack saddles are a Load themselves, being thick and broad, and made afore with an high Steeple, or Pyramid, and the Ridge in the middle is like a Mountain, over which they hang their Carriages; the like is to be said of their Camels. The Chief Drover is called *Gelabdar*,¹ and is privileged only to Command over his Fellow-Servants, not to Domineer over any Passengers, whether *Franks* or Natives, as among the *Turks* is practised, but rather to yield themselves to the Obedience of those who employ them.

Those that breed up Cattel are wandring Shepherds, and have no stated Habitation; but where they find the best Pasture they pitch their Tents, together with their Wives, Children, and Families, with all their Troops, in the fattest Vallies, living abroad far from great Towns, like the Wild *Arabs*, whose Chief, or Father of the Tribe, is owned by them, and no other, he giving account to the Emperor for the Number of their Flocks, and the Annual Increase; for they are Morose and Untained, and are apt enough to Worry any who fall unadvisedly among them: Their Dogs, with which they guard the Folds, are like Wolves, as fierce and stronger than their Wolves are here.

Among these we must reckon those that bring up the King's Breed of Horses, because they lead a Life very like these, though under the Jurisdiction of a Prime Courtier, who lives like a *Persian* both for Eating and Pomp in his Pavilions of State in the open Fields, keeping there a kind

¹ Pers. *jilaudār*, *jalavdār*, leader of a pack-horse (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 468).

of a Court with his Fellows and Companions, while the Inferior Servants provide for innumerable Drovers of Cattle: for whose Foals newly colted, the Mules are the best defence, (securing them from the attempts of the wildest Creatures when their Mares shall desert them, by a vigorous resistance with their Heels,) never leaving to prosecute them till they have drove them from their designed Rape; and to this End shall muster themselves together when they perceive any danger threaten the Young ones in their respective Drovers, and for the same purpose are nourished to be their Keepers.

These then are Vagrants, while the Husbandman fixes himself in the Villages, to whom the native Soil is sweet, who reaps the Fruit of his Labour, provided he take care to discharge his Landlord, who generally is the Emperor, or else as bad a Task-master.

These go clad in course Cloths underneath, above with Felts, kneaded into the form of a Coat, and are covered with Hats of the same, but their Hats are grey, bound about with a Linnen Cloth either of White, Green or Blew: their Coats are of what Colour they please, but mostly Blew: their Hats are high-crowned, and the Brim slit before and behind, which if it be cold, they pull down and bind with their Cloth; if the Sun offend their Eyes, they draw it over their Faces, or cock up when it is shady: When they rest, the upper Garment is put on with Sleeves, armed with an undressed Sheep's-skin against the injury of the Weather; their Shirt next their Skin is rugged enough: over it a plain Jirkin is tied with an hard Linnen Girdle of the same woost with the Shirt: About the Calves of their Legs they bind Rowlers for want of Stockins,¹ and their Shoes are soled with Wood, and the upper part wrought over with Packthread.

¹ Something like the modern puttee (*pattir*).

The *Dervises* professing Poverty, assume this Garb here, but not with that State they ramble up and down in *India*; being without Beasts of Burthen, without Wallets full of Provisions, which the others seize by force, without Attendance, without other Ensigns or Weapons more than a Staff and Horn; travelling without Company, or indeed any Safe-pass; and if they fix up their Standard, it is among the Tombs; none giving them harbour, or encouraging this sort of Madness, as well for the natural Antipathy to Beggary, as for that under this Cloak many Intrigues and ill Designs have been carried on.¹

The Christians labour in their Vineyards, as do the Jews also.

In all other Servility and Slavery the Old *Gabers* or *Gaurs*,² the true Ancient *Persians*, who differ from the present in Speech, Institutes, Laws, Countenance, Voice and Gate, which they retain with all the Abjectness and Sordidness a continual pressure of Misfortune can reduce them to; being once Lords of all the World, are no more now than the Off-scum of the Earth, and the meanest on whom the Sun shines, although still he is adored as their Deity.

And these being the Lowest of Mankind, made so by their Sloth; we shall pass from them, to those disabled from being Men by the Barbarous Custom of these Nations; whose Favour must be courted before we can come to the speech of their Women, I mean the Eunuchs; who barking, straitly wake their Masters; to whom being well disposed, it is hard to cast a seducing Bait before them; for since they are incapable of Enjoyments, though not of the Thoughts of Venery, their Masters confide in

¹ For the Central Asian Darwesh see Vámbéry, *Sketches*, 6 ff.; Layard, *Early Adventures*, i, 38: for a contemporary account of the class in India, see Tavernier, ed. Ball, i, 81 ff.

² See vol. ii, 253.

their Impotency to preside over the Female Senate, setting them as Spies over their Incontinency, and as faithful Keepers of their Virtue of Necessity: They order all their Cloths, and see that every one be arraid as becomes them, and that nothing indecent be committed among them; so pertinacious are they in the Authority placed in them, out of a tyrannical Humour, that they are never brought over to their Mistresses Designs, but are ever trusty to their Master's Pleasure, being most exquisite in the Art of Bawdery, and impure Assistants to Lechery; insomuch, that whoever beholds them, must pronounce them a Map of Villany; for they look as if they had stolen an Old Woman's Face, and a Puppit's Voice, seldom Fat in Body, but always Lean in Visage, without Beard, that not so much as the Hair of a Good Man appears, and the very Image of that Divine Creature seems utterly eraced; that one would suspect them to be *Gypsies* inverted, transformed from Young Men into Deformed Old Beldams, unless their Cloaths were allowed to be the same as the Mens; for they have no other Testimony left of their once being of the same Sex; for they are Gelded so inartificially, or Butcherly rather, that All is cut off, nothing of witness being left, but as clear as the Skin will permit; and thus are they given over to Nature to cicatrize: If they live, it is well; if not, they try others till they do; wherefore a Chyrurgion skilled in this Art, is of greater value, than if he were expert in every other part, and deficient in this.¹

They have both White and Black; the first from *Georgia*, the other from *Arabia* and *Africa*; these are the fit Tools of their Beastly Offices, and therefore the more endeared to their Masters, by how much the more lewd they are.

Which would hardly be born with silence by the Ancient

¹ See Burton, *Ar. Nights*, ix, 47: *Āīn*, ii, 122.

Procurers of the Female Sex, had they not been found faulty in their often contriving and helping their Young Mistresses out in their Assignations; of which they being conscious, they the more quietly admit them into their Quarters, not to say more contentedly; for they look upon them to be Overseers of their Actions, and imposed as so many *Argus's* to discover all their Intrigues.

In the mean while, the Women of this Country are in a bad State, where Jealousy reigns with such a sway, (and it is said not without cause;) for which reason they are without hope of redress, or any one so much as to pity them, since they're known above once to break through those Bars; nor is it wonderful when their Profoundest Divines teach them to be *ἀψυχας*, without Rational Souls, and therefore exclude them their Mosques; nor are they trained up in those Principles from their Youth, which should render them fit to become prudent Matrons; but measuring from extraneous things the sweetness of their Being, are instructed in Affairs of the Bed, Banqueting, Luxury, and Brutish Obsequiousness.

They are taught to Ride a Straddle like Men, to Leap, to Dart, and drink Tobacco.

None, though of the Royal Lineage, are permitted in Matters of State to meddle, or have their Cabals or Instruments, whereby to convey their Policies; nor must they stir abroad unvailed, unless shut up in *Cedgewaies*,¹ and then well attended.

They have little care over their Children, nor have they much business with the Reel or Spindle; as if they were created only to be Idle Companions for the Men; their Garments differ no farther from the Mens than Convenience requires; their Hair is braided with Elegancy under their Veils, with a Golden Crown or Garland, bestuck

¹ See vol. ii, 338.

with Jewels and precious Stones in pretty Knots and Fancies.

*Pectoris & cordis pariter proprieque monile
Ornatus. Colli sunt torques, auris in aures,
Annulus est manuum, siut armillæ brachiorum,
Atque periselides exornant crura pueræ.¹*

Besides the Breast, the Neck, the Ears, the Hand,
Their proper Ornaments, the Thighs command.

The *Plebeian* Women walk without Doors, either on Foot, or else Ride on Horse-back covered with White Sheets, with Holes for their Eyes and Nose; content to enjoy Day at a little Hole rather than prostitute their Face to publick View; the honest Women have no Borders to their Sheets.²

Those that desire to be reputed Whores have large Borders, and wear them as a Sign of their Trade; with which to disgrace a Married Woman, and to shave her Head, is the greatest Mark of Infamy she can be branded with; unless to add a perpetual stigmatizing Note, she be carried on an Ass, with her Face to the Tail, quite through the City.

The Women are fair, with rather too much Ruddiness in their Cheeks; their Hair and Eyes most black; a little Burly, by reason they wear their Cloths loose, yet not altogether so, but more at ease than our Dames; a Plump Lass being in more esteem than our Slender and Strait-laced Maidens.

¹ The quotation, as Prof. Bensly informs me, runs:

*Pectoris est proprie spinter, pariterque monile.
Ornatus colli fit torques, et auris inauris.
Annulus est manuum, sunt armillæ scapularum.
Atque perichelides [sic] exornant brachia nymphæ.*

Johannes de Garlandia, *Synonyma*, sign. H. v, recto, ed. printed by Rich. Pynson, Lond., 1509. It is the same in the Paris edition of 1494. Both these editions give the "expositio" of Magister Galfridus Anglicus (= Geoffrey the Grammarian): see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* He explains *perichelides* as = *quasi circum crura*: hence probably the variant *crura pueræ*.

² The outdoor dress of Persian women, of which Fryer gives an inaccurate account, is described by Wills, 325.

The Lovers court not one another; for the Recluseness of their Condition is such, that should they attempt to carry on a Secret Amour, it could not long lie hid; wherefore when they are at leisure to Love, they ask the Parents of the Daughter for thcir Consent, which if they gain, the Match is struck up: That of *Catullus* being granted,

*Virginitas non tota tua est, ex parte parentum est,
Tertia pars matri data, pars tertia patri,
Tertia sola tua est. Noli pugnare duobus.¹*

Your Virginity is not all your own;
Two Thirds your Parents claim, one Third alone
Remains to you. Fight not then two to one.

She is led through the Streets in all her best Apparel vailed, without Dowry, more than what Goods and Chattels are sent with lusty Slaves, by her several Relations, with a pompous Procession and Illuminations, with noisy Musick for several Nights together; and thus the Men, do as it were, buy their Wives, while the Women are ignorant of the Chapman till they come together; it being not reputable for Women of good Fame to enter upon such Bargains.

Only professed Whores are tollerated to make the best of their Markets; Curtezans therfore are dispensed by the King, they giving him so much for their License when they first set up, and Annually as long as they practise, not exceeding the number of Forty thousand in his Chief City of *Suffahaun*; and these are always Marrying, as the Poet pleasantly relates,

*Quotidie viro nubit,
Nupsitque hodie,
Nubil mox noctu.²*

Daily Man she Marries,
She has been wed to Day;
If till Night she tarries,
She thinks she does delay.

¹ Catullus, *Carm. nupt. in finem.*

² *Haec quidem ecasitor collidie viro nubet, nupsitque hodie,
Nubet mox noctu.*—Plautus, *Cistell.*, i, i, 45.

When they go to Bed, they Clambet not up to them, as we do, but throw themselves on the Ground after Carpets are laid, and a Bed made in a Summer-House in some Garden, left open in Summer-time, or else on the Tablets upon the Tops of their Houses, where, if they observe any peeping upon them, or their Wives, an Arrow drawn up to the head is let fly, nor does any blame the Marks-man when he hits¹ In Winter-time they keep all close

If a Curtezan conceive, and it proves a Girl, she is registered of her Mothers Profession, if a Son, she fixes it on some Father

There are costly Whores in this City, who will demand an hundred Thomands for one Night's Dalliance, and expect a Treat besides of half the price, these while their Wit and Beauty last, outshine the Ladies of the highest Potentate, and brave it through the Town with an Attendance superior to the wealthiest

In these Lyings in, it is common for the ordinary Peoples Wives to meet together to assist the Woman that Cries out And the Mother, and the Babe, are purified by washing in their Hummums after forty Days

¹ "Every house top was spread with Carpets whereon each night slept the master of the house and his Servants, some (I easily perceived) had there, some six women about them, viapt in linnen, the curiosity (or rashness rather) might have cost me deereely, the penality being no lesse than to shoot an Arrow into his braines that dares to doe it" (Herbeit, 193) Cases are on record in Afghanistan and other Muslim countries of bullets flying about the ears of Europeans who rashly ventured on the house top (Burton, *A, Nights*, II, 330) Tavernier (ed Ball, I 213) describes the dangerous freaks of Sieur des Marcots, who was detected peeping into a *zān mah*. In his Persian travels (148) he remarks "There is an order obtain'd, that the *Moullahs* that sing upon the *Mosqueo* shall not presume to go up in the morning, because it might be their hap to see the Women as they lay, it being one of the highest pieces of infamy imaginable for a Woman to be discover'd with her Face op'n" Hence blind men were preferred for this duty, and Pyraïd de Laval (II, 376) says that palm climbing by day was prohibited for the same reason. Moïri (*Second Journey*, 230) gives an illustration of a Persian and his wives sleeping on the house top

This is the *chihil* (Pers. *chihal*, "forty") the ceremonies of which are described by Herklots (*Qanoon e-Islam*, 78 ff.)

When their Husbands dye they make great Lamentations; the Widows howling with their Neighbours and Relations, crying out, Who will take care for us, who will defend the Cause of the Widow and the Fatherless; after the Custom of the *Hebrews*, where in Sacred Scripture they are termed Mutes, because there is none to plead for them; and if by chance they offer to urge any thing for themselves, no one regards their Complaints: For three Days after their Kindred's Death they change not their Garments; the Men shave not their Heads, or trim their Beards; the Women shear their Heads, vow Widowhood, and go carelessly Clad, only in a Sheet or mean Dress.

The *Persians*, when they let go their Modesty, put no bounds to their lascivious Desires, not being content with Natural Inclinations, outdo the Sensuality of the hottest Beasts, who never attempt on other than the Females of their own Species; but these, oh shame! covet Boys as much as Women; and to speak an horrid Truth, are too guilty of Buggering other Creatures; these poor Children thus abused are sad Spectacles, looking diseased, and are not long liv'd.

So wholly bent on Pleasures are these People, that to grow Rich, be saluted with Honour, appear magnificently, be accounted Noble and speciously Great, to Play, to Ride on Horseback with Gold Trappings on Prancing Steeds, to feast Day and Night, they will venture on any Evil Enterprize, and sell themselves to any Mischief, well knowing without Money they can arrive at none of these, so that they are intent to get it right or wrong: Therefore neither in Court, Camp, or in Judicature, is there catching any thing without a Golden Hook; no one sues in *forma pauperis*, Justice is not to be had without a Bribe; and if you Appeal to *Cæsar*, he is deaf, if you knock not at the Door with the Showre that opened the way to *Danae's* close Confiners.

On the other hand, commit any Wickedness, cast but a Golden Mist before the Chief Ministers, and the King shall know nothing of it; but if the Clamour of the Subject force a *Magless*,¹ the Case is not represented fairly to the Emperor, but as a Blend they mix Falsities with Truth.

Atque ita mentuntur, sic veris falsa remiscent.²

No Court in the World is fuller of Corruption than the *Persian* Court, whereupon the Crowd is sent away no better satisfied than it came; which causes ill Blood, a perpetual Reproach to the King, and if they durst, Insurrections, which whether Fear, or want of Courage restrain them, or the innate Fidelity and Passive Obedience on the formerly mentioned grounds, I shall not determine: Since at this time they seem to be more provoked by the Supineness of the Emperor, and the Ill Management of the Government, and the general out-cry of the Mobile; but yet even in this Confusion I do not perceive a Propensity to Rebellion, though they refrain not from open Curses, especially the Womenkind, who are set on by the Men to bellow their Oppressions, which they roar at the Palace Gates, by Troops of Women, in a Tumultuous manner some Weeks together; to which Vocal Weapons they are sparing.

When as should the Men come in a Riot, they would handle them otherwise; which is the reason they thrust them on to complain, when they dare not speak their own Grievances, it being not held manly to fight with a Woman.

And hence it comes to pass that the Law loses its Authority, and the Subject becomes a Prey to the Avarice and Violence of the Magistrate; and while the one grows exorbitantly Rich, the other becomes miserably Poor, through an unproportionable distribution; and by these

¹ Pers. *majlis*, "convention, judicial hearing of a cause."

² *Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscent* (Horace, *Ars Poet.* 151).

Exactions is verified the Proverb, *Homo homini lupus*; One Man devours another more cruelly than a Wolf. Nor is it possible for one that is Poor ever to rise without a Miracle, there being no Mean between extreme Poverty and the height of Wealth or Honour, which makes the Great ones truly Great, while the dejected Wretches have no other Sanctuary than to appear under the shelter of the Mighty; and to be reckoned of their Retinue is all the Favour to be expected in recompense for the most notorious Injury; which would augment the Affliction of a Generous Spirit, to follow on Foot the exalted Extortioner that has undone him, who climbed over others Ruin to be eminently Rich, and is still upheld by their Downfall. And this must ever be the state of those Kingdoms where Goodness is banished, and Virtue must give place to Vice; and this unavoidably happens where ever the *Mahometan* Religion takes place; which makes a voluptuous Life the only Benediction both on Earth and in their Heaven; and this squares more peculiarly with the Climat and the Temper of the *Persians*, than any other Nation under the cope of Heaven: For since Misfortunes are looked on as the most grievous Curses, they all aim either to be, or to be thought Prosperous; whence it is not only indecent, but unhappy to walk on Foot out of Necessity; and he that comes abroad with the finest Palfry, the richest Accoutrements, the most Followers, with Footmen with Bells at their Wastes, Feathers in their Turbats, Embroidered Horse-Cloaths over their Shoulders, delicately wrought Saddles for War and Housings, Golden Bridles, Breast-Plates and Cruppers often beset with Precious Stones; has his Golden Headed *Coleon*¹ behind him magnificently carried, with change of Vests in rich *Bug-Shoes*² or Portmantles; he is

¹ See vol. ii, 259.

² Pers. *bugchah*, "a bundle, wallet, knapsack" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*; 117).

the Favourite of Heaven and the Darling of Fortune, is courted by all, and esteemed the chief care of Providence. Thus mightily are the gaudy Bubbles of Fortune admired here; on which account to be most Impious is most emulated, since to arrive at these Ends there is no other method than what has already been related.

And thus Equipped they appear in their Martial Camps, not to out-do, but out-shine each other, where they have *Obelisks*¹ for Goals, where they try their Steeds, not giving them a long Race, but short and swift; they, as most of the *East* do, Ride short, and stop with a Jerk; for which, as has been said in *India*, their Curbs are useful, that on a motion they Obey; otherwise they (being placed with a sharp Cone, in a round Ring pointing on the Tongue,) so pierce it that it Bleeds as if struck with a Fleme; here they *Gredie*,² or cast Darts, play with Balls on Rackets, bringing their Steeds to observe the Rebound; here they train their Hawks to fly at Crows, and Crows to fly at Sparrows: Here they Exercise among themselves what the King requires to be presented before him; and the Nobility learn to Shoot backward, as the *Parthians*, their Predecessors, were wont,³ and in that were dreaded more on flight than when they stood to it; nor is this the only Skill they pretend to with Bows and Arrows, but Shoot at Marks not far distant, though they seldom practise Rovers.

On these Sands the Anointed Wrcstler keeps himself in Breath, and the undaunted Fencer bares his Livid Arm; Rams are set against Rams, and against Bulls, Lions, &c. and against all, our *English* Mastiffs, who carry the Prize

¹ The pillars or polo-posts still survive in the Maidān-i-Shāh at Ispahān (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, 342).

- Vol. i, 278.

² *Fidentemque fugā Parthum versisque sagittis* (Vergil, *Geor.*, iii, 31). *Et versis animosum equis Parthum dicere* (Horace, *Carm.*, i, xi, 11). *Miles sagittas et celerem fugam Parthi* (*ibid.*, ii, xiii, 17).

from the Combatants, when they Celebrate the *Boetian Games*.

They are frequent Huntsmen: When they go out on this sport they return not in a Days time, as we do, but remove from place to place, where Game is to be had; take with them their Wives and Family, and Travel in state with full prepared Tables, and act the *Bacchinalis* like *Alexander*; for which purpose they have their Tents and close Carriages, their *Yogdans*¹ for Provisions; they carry also *Bulgar*-Hides, which they form into Tanks to Bathe themselves, and Women, in their Progress; for drinking Cups they have both Gold and Silver ones, as also large Flasks of that Metal; besides Earthen Jars for Water, and *Puckeries*,² which are porous Vessels to keep their Liquor Cool.

Upon their Return, or Entrance of any Magistrate into any great Town, or City, all of any Quality meet them at some Garden, a *Pharsang* off, with led Horses, Musick, and Banquets, to Congratulate their Arrival, which is also done upon their Departure, with a Train of Servants, and especially those bearing their Tobacco-Vessels, Tea, and Coffee-Pots; which, with hot Rose-Water, and Sugar-Candy, is their preparatory Fore runner to a splendid Entertainment; which they are sure to have at the return to their Palaces, where they Treat like *Persians*.

Alighting they are introduced the Guest-Chamber, all bestrewed with Flowers and sweet Herbs, besides perfumed with Odoriferous Gums, or the Aloes Wood³ alone, or other resiny Matters made into Candles, and in Massy

¹ Pers. *yakhdān* (properly a chest for holding ice, *yakh*), a travelling portmanteau or trunk.

² Pers. *bulghār*, Russian leather, originally exported from Bolghār on the Volga (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 125).

³ See vol. ii, 163.

⁴ Eagle wood, an aromatic wood procured from the East. See Yule *ibid.*, 16, 335.

Silver Fuming-Pots very costly and delicate; leaving their Slippers where they begin to tread on Carpets; they take their Seats on *Susanees*,¹ a rich Tapestry of Needle-Work that Borders the Carpets, behind which are placed huge Velvet Bolsters, before them Spitting Pots to void their Spittle in when they Smoak Tobacco, or Eat *Pawn*; these Rooms are large and airy, and open folding Windows on every side, where being placed they bring their *Coloons*: after which they Welcome you by a flood of Rose-Water, or other Compound Water poured on your Head and Beard, then they bring in, in neat Voiders,² China Plates of Fruit, as Pistachia's, Walnuts, Almonds, Haslenuts, Grapes, Prunes, Prunello's, Apricots Dried, and Sweatmeats Wet and Dry of all sorts, amidst whereof they fill out Coffee, Tea, and Hot Rose-Water, and all the while have Mimicks, Stage-Players, and Dancers to divert, between whose Interludes is mixed the Custom, as ancient as *Nebuchadnessar*, of certain Wise Men repeating Verses in their Praise, or reading Monuments of Antiquity, which continues till Victuals are brought in, and the Cloath spread on the Carpets, every one keeping their places; First, Water being brought in great Silver Basons and Ewers to Wash, the Courses are ushered in with loud Musick, and the Table being filled, the Servitors are placed so as to furnish every one with Plates of the several Varieties, which they place before each, and give them long Wheaten Cakes, both for

¹ Pers. *sosani*, a quilted carpet, which takes its name from *sosun*, "a needle." In India the term is often applied to an embroidered bed-spread. "It consists of a double surface of cotton cloth slightly padded and quilted down, not in squares, but in curved patterns of flowers, etc. The quilting work is done with pale blue or pale pink silk, and the raised parts of the work sometimes appear to be tinted by having a coloured cloth below the outer surface, the colour of which partly shows through the white" (Baden Powell, *Punjab Manufactures*, 100).

² "A basket or tray for carrying out the relics of a dinner or other meal" (Nares, *Glossary*, s.v.).

Napkins, Trencher, and Bread, and sometimes thin Pancakes made of Rice; though Boiled Rice serves usually for Bread, which they mix with their Soops and Pottage.

The usual Drink is *Sherbet*, made of Water, Juice of Lemmons, and Ambergreece, which they drink out of long thin Wooden Spoons, wherewith they lade it out of their Bowls.¹

The most admired Dainty, wherewith they stuff themselves, is *Pullow*,² whereof they will fill themselves up to the Throat and receive no hurt, it being so well prepared for the Stomach. After they have Eaten well, and the Cloath is removed, they Wash again.

And then most of them will freely take off their Bowls of Wine, (which is brought to each by their several servants), most of Silver, some of Gold, which we call a *Toss*,³ and is made like a Wooden Dish, purposely so shap'd for convenient Carriage, at the bottom of their *Coosdans*⁴ placing the *Gurgulets*,⁵ upon it, which *Coosdan* is a Case made neatly of Rattans or Canes, covered with a Coverlet of Scarlet, Bordered with Silk for Shew as well as to keep the Dust off.

When they have tired themselves with Feasting (which is not suddenly) as they depart, they return Thanks, by Inviting every one in course to an Entertainment of the like nature, where they strive to outdo each other. Thus extravagantly Luxurious and immoderately Profuse are they in their great Feasts, stately Dining-Rooms, mag-

¹ Such spoons are made at Abadeh (see vol. ii, 317).

² See vol. i, 234.

³ Pers. *tāsah*, Ar. *tās*, a cup. Ovington (396) speaks of silver plate used at the Surat factory. "And such are also the Tosses or Cups out of which we drink."

⁴ Pers. *kūzahdān* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 248).

⁵ Port. *gorgoleta* (*ibid.*, 382).

nificent Gardens, and Water-Courses; exceeding the *Roman* Voluptuousness, of whose Prodigality *Seneca*.

*Turpis libido (scilicet) potens venere
Luxuria victrix, orbis immensas opes,
Jampridem avaris manibus ut perdat, rapit.¹*

Active in Lustful Fires, they heap up stores,
To waste in Riot, and to spend on Whores.
Seize all the World by Avaritious Hands,
Get to consume on Prodigal Commands.

In their Weddings, Childbearings, Circumcisions and Purifying Banquets, they make great Revellings, Fireworks and Rejoycings Night and Day for a month together, that it is troublesome living in great Cities by reason of their Nocturnal Perambulations, when they Shoot, Shout, and make great Acclamations, with hideous thundring Kettle Drums and Trumpets; and however obscure they live at other times, they are wholly taken up in Expences at these Times, and sometimes forgetting the main Chance, they lay out all, and more, to imitate Men of Fame.

But the greatest Festivities are enjoined by the Church, some whereof are common to the *Turks* and *Persians*, others belong only to the *Persian Sect*; as those in the end of their great Fast of the *Ramzan*,² and that of *Imāum Ḥussein*,³ No Rose,⁴ when the Caliph, or *Archflamen*, or one for him, should sacrifice a Ram in memory of that intangled in the Thickets, which *Abraham* offered up an Holocaust instead of his Son *Isaac*, and these are equally observed by each.⁵

¹ *Turpi libido venere dominatur potens
Luxuria victrix orbis immensas opes
Jampridem avaris manibus, ut perdat, rapit.*

(*Octavia*, usually included in editions of *Seneca's Tragedies*, 433 R.)

² See vol. i, 270.

³ Imām Husain, the Muharram.

⁴ See vol. ii, 333.

⁵ The feast called 'Idū'l-Azhā, Qurbān-'Id, or Baqarah-'Id. "There is nothing in the Qur'ān to connect this sacrifice with the history of

When the Emperor, seating himself on his Throne, arrayed in his Royal Robes, that he might display all the Wealth and Glory of the Empire both to the Plebeans and Potentates, and ought after the Primitive Institution to make a Feast for all the Princes and his Servants, the Power of *Persia*, the Nobles and Prefects of Provinces, for many days together: By placing Golden Vessels at the Gates of his Palace for the Lions and strange Beasts to drink out of, as large Golden Jarrs for Passengers: where, upon the frequent expectation of their Liege Lord, and the Shews and Pastimes represented before him on these Days, great Numbers of People flocked into the *Hypodrome*, where the Presence of the King was as eagerly desired, as *Cesar's Advent* was welcomed by *Martial*.

*Phosphore reddé diem; cur gaudia nostra moreris,
Cesare venturo' Phosphore reddé diem.¹*

But as if nothing were owing either to the Affections of the Vulgar, or to Honest Report, he not only neglects the Sports and Games, but by contracting new Impieties, loosens the very Bonds by which the Subjects Faith are tied; for he being commonly drunk on these Solemnities within doors, with his Pimps and Panders comes abroad like a *Royster*, neither regarding the Temple, or the Grandure of the *Magless*:² For on *No Rose*, the First Day of the Year, which is the Tenth of *March*, he being attended by the Great Council, should receive the Homage of all his Great Slaves, and they should pay their Feuditory Tributes, for which he should return them *Colluts*,³ or Robes

Ishmael, but it is generally held by Muhammadans to have been instituted in commemoration of Abraham's willingness to offer up his son as a sacrifice. The Muhammadan writers generally maintain that the son was Ishmael and not Isaac, and that the scene took place at Mount Mina near Makkah, and not in the land of Moriah, as is stated in *Genesis*" (Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, 193).

¹ Martial, *Epigramm.*, viii, 21-1.

² See vol. iii, 132.

³ See vol. i, 223.

of Honour, either by themselves or Substitutes, and at the same time entertain them Royally; where, besides the usual Sports, on this Day there is a peculiar Diversion of the *Shotters*¹ or Footmen, begun at Two or Three in the Morning, and held for Twelve Hours; in which space the *Shotter* that is appointed, fetches Twelve Small Streamers placed a *Pharsang* distant from the Starting-Post, which is before the Palace-Gate, which reckoning four Miles to a *Pharsang*, is four times Twelve, or Forty eight Miles backwards and forwards, but at a modest computation it is full Three Miles that they run, and then it will amount to Seventy two Miles that they run in Twelve hours time; which I once saw performed at the *Cann* of *Bunder's* (who all over the Realm imitate the Emperor on this day) on the Sand along the Sea-side, we being there at the Vernal *Equinox*, when this is performed.

He sets out with his Fellows, who by Turns wait his return, and are obliged to attend him, both to make way, and to fan him in his passage, and to be ready with Towels to rub the Sweat off his Body: Two or three hours before Noon the Prime Nobility gather to receive the King's Commands; some to be Spectators, others to act afore the *Magelss*; where at the appearance of the *Shotter*, with his Streamer in his Hand, the loud Musick proclaims his coming: When he has fetched the last, the King has notice, and all with him ascending their Steeds, wait on the Emperor, who meeting him, the *Shotter* runs chearfully afore his Horse, and holds his Horse till he alights, and prostrate before him, delivers the Streamer, for which, after he is cleansed, and the *Magelss* is seated, he is brought before the Emperor of the *Suffees*, clothed with nothing more than his running Breeches, and then a Rich Vest is thrown over him, and receives a Gratuity besides from the

¹ See vol. ii, 180.

Suffee, whose Example all there present following, he is plentifully rewarded, and made Chief *Shotter* for the ensuing Year: After the *Shotter's* Race is over, the *Suffee* calls all his Nobles to a Sumptuous Feast, which concludes with demonstrations of Excessive Joy.

At the beginning of *April* they have a proper Feast of their own, where the Emperor is to give the People of *Suffahaun* a Camel to be slain, which they lead about the Streets with a confused Noise, being dressed very fine with Flowers and Garlands for the Altar; and being brought to the Priest, he cuts the Throat, and burns the Entrails, distributing to each Principal Ward of the City the several Quarters to be eaten publickly after they are roasted, the Head only being presented to an Old *Sybil*, the only Relict of the Tribe to which it appertains by right, which she preserves till next Year, and then produces it at the Feast, for which she has a settled Pension; and the Blood of the fresh slain is scrambled for to besmear their Lintels and Side-posts, signing them with the Sign of the Cross: What relation it has to the Passover ordained to the *Jews*, I could never learn from them; but they say it is to keep their Houses free from Hobgoblins and Evil Spirits: It is called *Ede Corboon*.¹

About *December* they observe a Feast for the happy Conjunction of *Mahomet* and *Alli*, known by *Hede Chudeer*.²

¹ 'Id-ul-Qurbān, for which see Hughes, *Dict.*, 192 ff.; Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*, ii, 221. At Teheran "at an auspicious moment a spear in the hand of a relative of the Shah is thrust into a vital spot behind the neck; but scarcely has the blood burst forth before a hundred knives are thrust into the poor animal by the bystanders, and in a twinkling the carcass is divided into many parts. Each quarter of the city endeavour to secure a portion, which may be kept for good luck during the succeeding twelve months" (Benjamin, 378).

² 'Id-i-Ghadir, "a festival of the Shi'ahs on the 18th of the month Zū'l-Hijjah, when three images of dough filled with honey are made to represent Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Usmān, which are struck with knives, and the honey is sipped as typical of the blood of the usurping Khalifahs. The festival is derived from *ghadīr*, 'a fool,' and the festival commemorates, it is said, Muhammad having declared 'Alli his suc-

In *January* is the Commemoration of the Snares of the Ottoman intended against the *Osmeran Family, Æde Bobba Shujawhundeen*,¹ which are ridiculous enough.

They celebrate the *New Moons*² with the rest of the *Moors*; and to speak fairly, they outdo others in Civility of Manners:

Nor (to give them less than their due) are they behind-hand in exerting their Valour where requisite, whether out of the opinion of Fatal Necessity, or an Innate Disposition, I know not, nor will I judge; but that of *Lucan* prevails with them.

—*A prima descendit origine Mundi
Causarum series, atque ovmia fata laborant;
Si quidquam mutasse velis.*—³

Since the World's Frame at first began,
All things in settled Order ran;
What you'd change, should have been changed then.

Friendly and Courteous Salutation is no where so much promoted as among the *Persians*, as if they had learned *Cato's* Prescript; wherefore I think it not impertinent to give you some Forms of their Address, and a Specimen of their good Behaviour; not that I would hereby pretend I understood the Language (for I confess, beyond the Discourse of Traffick, and for ordinary Occasions, I do not,) but rather to vindicate the Place, famous for so many Ages past, from the Barbarity of the rest of the *Eastern Nations*; and to shew that it has transmitted some of its Civility (though by another Conveyance than the direct Ancestry)

cessor at Ghadir Khūm, a watering place midway between Makkah and al-Madinah" (Hughes, *Dict.*, 138; Malcolm, *Hist.*, ii, 239 n.).

¹ Professor Browne identifies this feast with that known as 'Umar Kushān, the festival of the murder of 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb, the second Khalifah, who was assassinated by Frūz, a Persian slave, A. H. 23, (A.D. 644). He is known to the Persians as Bābā Shujā-u'd-din, "the valiant Champion of the Faith." (Also see Hughes, *Dict.*, 650 ff.).

² Ar. *hilāl*.

³ Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vi, 612 ff.

through the repeated Alterations of Fortune, to the present Possessors, who were originally of a morose Extract; yet have they put off their Native Ferity, to comply with the over-ruling Influence of the Climate.

For the very Plebeans in other Parts, surly and unconvenerable, are here Affable and Kind, not Rude and Unmannerly; where-ever you meet them, before you salute them, they accost you with *Salam Aleekum*,¹ God's Peace be with you; and if you do the like to them, they resalute you, and bowing with their Hands across their Breast, return *Aleekum Salam*, God save you; approaching nigher, they Embrace with the Appellation of *mi Sahab*, my Friend, or more properly, my Lord; *Cuddah ne gardin*,² God be propitious to you; in passant, they cry with some vchemence, *Chchauldore*,³ how fare you? to which they reply, *Choukossee*,⁴ at your Service; at Departure, *Salamut basheet*,⁵ Peace be your Companion; at Meeting, *Vosajun Bashut*,⁶ I am glad to see you; at Meals, *Aupheat Bashut*,⁷ much Good may it do you; if any fail the appointment after Invitation, or come late, being called, they say *Ja Shaman collee booth pishee eauroon*,⁸ Your Seat is empty among so many good Friends; and what I wonder at more, many Words in use among the *High Dutch*, are in Common Discourse with them, as *Fader*¹⁰ signifies Father; *Moder*,¹¹ Mother; *Broder*,¹² Brother; *bnd*, *beeter*,¹³ and innumerable of the like sort; which not only confirms their being *Scythians*, but corroborates the Learned Antiquary, Mr. *Sheringham*'s Opinion

¹ The usual Mussalman salutation is *ar-Salamu 'alaikum*, "on you be the peace!" to which the usual reply is *wa 'ala-kum 'as-salām*, "and on you also be the peace!"

² This is corrupt—*sahib*, "lord, master."

³ *Khudū nigāh dārad*.

⁴ *Chih hāl dari*.

⁵ *Chih khwāstī?* "What did you want?"

⁶ *Salāmat bāshad*.

⁷ *Nosh Jān bāshad*.

⁸ *'Āfiyat bāshad*.

⁹ *Jā-yi shumā khālibād pish-i-yārān*.

¹⁰ *pādar*.

¹¹ *mādar*.

¹² *birādar*.

¹³ better, *behtar*.

of *Woden*, and his *Asas* or *Asiaticks*, (*Asa* being a Common Name among the *Parsys* in *India* and *Gaurs* here) and of our being derived from them, as appears in his *Anglorum Gentis Origine*.

The Courtiers think the *Turkish* Language more commanding, and therefore addict themselves to that Speech, which is neither so Polite or Verbose, but more Guttural; the present Dialect of the *Persians* is much more smooth and neat, yet not agreeable with the old Character, as may appear by our *Polyglot* Bible, which they understand no more than they do *Welch*.

But to perfect their Urbanity; when they Encounter, the pluck not off their Caps, but with a pleasing Modesty bow their Heads; within Doors they bare their Feet by pulling off their Shoes,¹ which they leave at the Entrance upon the *Bucchanno's*;² not that they salute thereby, but out of Cleanliness to preserve their Carpets, from which when they descend, their Servants stand ready to help them to their Shoes, and while they are seated, glory to be incircled with Servitors; nor do they presume afore their Betters to use any other Seat than their Heels, till they have License to sit at ease.

They are formal in the matter of going First, and shall protract the Ceremony into a tedious Contention, and generally are pressed hard to Precedency, and will strain a Courtesy to Strangers.

The Custom of carrying *Aves* one to another, is not Obsolete.

Prima Salutantes atque altera continet hora.³

¹ The great "shoe-question," a point of etiquette which has caused much trouble to European officers in India.

² Hind. *bichhānd*, the floor covering, usually white, of reception rooms in the East (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 93).

³ *Prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora* (Martial, *Epigramm.*, iv, 8, 1. On the visits of clients at Rome, see Bekker, *Gallus*¹, E. T., p. 227).

No more than among *Martial's Parasites*, the very Slaves Reverencing the Threshold of their Lord's Doors; so extravagant are they of their Courtesies, with an hundred such good Morrows; but if any weighty thing be to be presented, it is with an eye to Profit.

However, not to exempt them from all good Inclinations, could we excommunicate Self-Praise, *Philautia*, from their Pious Acts, we might discern some noble Deeds for which they merit to be extolled, as the Building of Temples, Publick Hospitals for Travellers, (not for Sick or Wounded) which are the *Caravan Seraws*, Colleges, Bridges, Fountains, plaining Mountains, and raising Vallies, for to facilitate the Way for long and troublesome Journies.

The Colleges that are not of Royal Foundations, are Adjuncts to the Prophets Tombs, or Built in Commemoration of some Noble Warrior; to be Buried near which, is the desire of these *Martis Alumni*, as much as for Catholicks to be Buried in St. *Francis* his Habit; which Sepulchres are, as it were, Triumphant Arches, after the Figures of their Mosques, in the middle whereof is deposited the Corps in a Stone Tomb, like a Chest, or Coffin, with Four Golden or Silver Apples, at each Corner One, commonly covered with a Purple wrought Pall, with curious Artifice; over head hang Streamers and Banners, and it is Railed with Iron Rails, in which are Lamps always Burning; nor do any enter with their Shoes on, the Floor being Matted, or spread with Carpets; and if a *Mullah* attends, he goes to Prayers for the Quiet of the deceased Soul. They never Bury in the Church, and seldom in the City; they permit Representations of Lions or Tigers, on Grave-Stones, as has been said,¹ to express a Man taken away in the prime of his Age; have Inscriptions and Places for Incense; they always lay the Body *North* and *South*, in opposition to us

¹ See vol. ii, 236 f.

Christians, who Bury our Dead *East* and *West*; agreeing in most things with the other *Mahometans*.¹

To this Magnificence and Civility of Temper, we may add a Third Virtue, their Fidelity to their Princes.

For which Excellencies they seem to be beholden to the pureness of their Air; for it is Hot and Dry for the most part, whereby their Hearts are more firm and solid, which makes them more constant and resolute, they being of a more refined Head than the other *Easterns*, their Brain being more spirituous and clear.

To which Three Graces, notwithstanding, there are a Trine Aspect of Vices; to Magnificence, Oppression and Covetousness; to Munificence, Intemperance and Lust; to Fidelity, Jealousy and Revenge.

The Philosophers agree not with *Galen*, ἄμα δὲ τούτοις πάθει τὸ σῶμα; that the Body suffers from the Affections of the Mind; they saying, That they depend not on the Texture of the Body, but are Conjoined with it; yet Experience teaches, That as often as the Mind is Troubled, the Spirits are variously Agitated, which move the Blood and put it on a Fret, whereby the Heart is Convulsed, and many times the whole Frame of the Body is put out of Order.

And therefore is it necessary, that to the excellency of the Air, and disposition of the Body, a requisite Diet, as well for Meat as Drink, should correspond with both; and indeed Nature seems to have provided them with both, for those they desire are these:

Cabob is Rostmeat on Skewers, cut in little round pieces no bigger than a Sixpence, and Ginger and Garlick put between each. Thus sparingly do they feed on Flesh alone, ordered after this manner; and if at any time they

¹ The face of the corpse is turned in the direction of Mecca (*Hughes. Dict. Islam*), 45.

² Pers. *kabāb* (*Yule, Hobson-Jobson*, 138).

intend a Meal thereon, they have it well Boiled, Baked, Fried, or Stewed, or made into *Pullow*;¹ which is a general Mess, as frequent with them as a good substantial piece of Beef is with us, and reckoned their standing Dish; which is made either of Flesh, Fish, or Fowl, as the *Indian Moors* do; but the best is made of the fattest Meat, for which the pondrous Tails of Suet (which their Sheep bear) is most coveted, in regard it saves Butter.

To make *Pullow*, the Meat is first Boiled to Rags, and the Broth or Liquor being strained, it is left to drain, while they Boil the Rice in the same; which being tender, and the aqueous parts evaporating, the Juice and Gravy incorporates with the Rice, which is Boiled almost dry; then they put in the Meat again with Spice, and at last as much Butter as is necessary, so that it becomes not too Greasy or Offensive, either to the Sight or Taste; and it is then Boiled enough when it is fit to be made into Gobbets, not slabby, but each Corn of Rice is swelled and filled, not burst into Pulp; and then with *Mango* or other *Achar*, they will devour whole Handfuls (for Spoons are not in use, unless to drink *Sherbet* with, they mixing their Pottage with dry Rice, and cramming themselves with their Fingers)

¹ Pers. *pulao*, *pilañ*, a dish consisting of various kinds of meat boiled with rice and spices (Yule, *ibid.*, 710). "They seldome go beyond Pelo, but in that dish expresse they think a witty invention. setting before you fortie dishes, call'd by forty names, as Pelo, Chelo, Kishmy-pelo, &c. albeit indeed it differ but thus, all are of ryce. mutton, and hens boyld together; some have butter, some have none; some have fruit, some have none; some have turmerack & saffion, some have none; some have onyons and garlick, some have none; some have almonds and raisins, some have none; and so *ad infinitum*; making us also beleeve they make us gallant cheere and great variety, though the ingredients be one, differing only in colour or complement; some comming to the table as black as a coale, some white as a curd; others (that you may know their Cooks are wittie) be yellow, greene, blew, red, or as they fancie" (Herbert, 240). On the Pulao see Curzon, i, 108 n.; Biowne, *A Year*, 110; Wills, 296; Vámbéry, *Sketches*, 118; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, i, 125; Manucci, i, 24.

² Pers. *āchār*, a general term for salt and acid relishes · Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 3).

and never Surfeit; always taking this for a Rule, never to Drink till they are satisfied, it causing them otherwise to swell too soon; and then they will Eat as much at a Meal, as an Horse or Mule can of Barly.

Baked Meat they call *Dumpoke*,¹ which is dressed with sweet Herbs and Butter, with whose Gravy they swallow Rice dry Boiled.

Their Stews are also made of Cooling Fruits, as Cucumbers, Gourds, &c. which they mingle Rice with.

But the bulk of their Diet consists of the Fruits of the Teeming Earth, sowe Milk, with soft Cheese, Grapes and Wheaten Bread.

They have a kind of Cooling Mucilage of Seeds, like *Psyllium*; in the Maritime parts they use Dates instead of Bread, or Bread made Pancake Fashion of Rice.

They have a Dish they call *Cookoo Challow*,² which is dry Rice and a Fritter of Eggs, Herbs, and Fishes.

They seldom Eat fresh Butter, and as seldom Beefs Flesh; the Poor near the Sea live only on Fish and Dates; the Rich live plentifully every where.

No Country is more taken with Sweetmeats, not even the *Lusitanians*; wherefore Sugar is a good Commodity from *India*, for *Persia* produces none of its own; they are not such Confectioners, notwithstanding, as might be expected from so constant a desire and practice; the chief reason I can impute it to is Custom, which in every thing they are very tenacious of.

¹ See vol. i, 234.

² Johnson (*Pers. Dict., s.v.*) defines *kukū*, "a fried egg, fritter." Brown (110 n.) defines the difference between *pilāw* and *chilāw* to be that in the former the mixture of the rice with the various kinds of flavoured meats is effected by the cook; the latter by the guest, who takes with the plain rice whatever delicacy most tempts his palate. "The *chitau*, which is a triumph of cookery, comes up in the form of a white pyramid of steamed rice, every grain of which is dry outside, but inside is full of juice, and is served with a large number of *entrées*" (Curzon, i, 109).

They mightily covet cool things to the Palat, wherfore they mix Snow, or dissolve Ice in their Water, Wine, or Sherbets.

Out of Taglets of Willows they make a compound Cool-Water, very sweet smelling and refreshing.¹

Sherbets are made of almost all Tart pleasing Fruits as the Juice of Pomegranets, Lemmons, Citrons, Oranges, Prunella's, which are to be bought in the Markets. Thus by Diet, as well as Air, they procure not only a firmness of Constitution, but Properness and Tallness of Body, for none excel them either for Beauty or Stature.

But before we part with this Subject, since they are not so starch'd and precisely bent as the more rigorous *Mahometans*, we may be acquainted with their constant course of Eating, and lie down with them at Meals, and receive a good Welcome.

Their Breakfast is begun with Melons, Cucumbers, Gourds, Grapes, or other Fruits, as Peaches, Apricots, Cherries, or the like, with soft Cheese or Butter-Milk; which is about Ten in the Morning, from which time they abstain from all manner of Food (I mean when they observe their set Meals till near Sun-set) when they feed heartily on Flesh, or any other hot Meats, and enlarge sometimes till Midnight.

They observe the same usage for going to Stool as the other *Easterns*, washing away the Filth with the Left hand, for no other cause than that they feed themselves with the Right.

They sit down to make Water, but whether that way empties the Bladder better I leave to conjecture; though their continual sitting within doors with their Legs up to their Bellies helps digestion, is a thing beyond dispute.

That the *Persians* never Spit, I cannot allow to be true, since they Smoak Tobacco in their most solemn Assemblies,

¹ *Bid-i-mushk*, made from the Egyptian willow (*Salix sygostomon*), or from *Salix Caprea* (Watt, *Econ. Dict.*, vi, pt ii, 389).

and for that purpose we have already shewed they are provided with Spitting-Pots, or *Pigdans*,¹ but since *Xenophon* relateth it in the *First Pædia Cyri*, as a reproach for any to Spit in Company, and brings it as an argument of Gluttony, or Laziness, *Nunquam sputant in conventu Persæ, quia maximum ignominiae argumentum, quasi indicaret eos aut plus cibi, quam par esset sumere, aut nullis corporis exercitationibus uti*;² I must add, that I find them to indulge both; nor are they ashamed to Carouse or Eat lustily, but on the contrary Gormandize to excess; there is therefore nothing but the Thinness of the Air, expressing their superfluous Humours can bespeak this Virtue; nor indeed do I find them differ much in that point from other Nations.

To conclude then; to the Endowments of Mind, they have an Happiness of Body, through the extraordinary Fineness of Air, which by a suitableness of Food nourishes a well-mix'd Temper both of Soul and Body; for as they have the start in the first, so they surpass all their Neighbours in the latter, being not only Ingenuous and Free, but Fair, Tall, and Comely, with a Stock of Health not easily to be impaired, unless violent Debauchery root up the Stability they enjoy by Nature.

Thus having run through their Distributive Justice, their Religion, and Morality, their several Rites, Usages, and Ceremonies; it remains then, as we have declared their Wealth and Merchandise, so we should shut up all with their Commutative or Trading Justice, which keeps an Arithmetical Proportion; as buying, selling, letting, and hiring. The Valuation of every thing is made either by Number, Weight, or Measure: Number is the same, and common to all People, Tongues, and Nations; but Weight and Measure are not so, there being a great Variety of

¹ See vol. ii, 163.

² Cf. Herodotus, i. 99.

these, and every Country has a Statutable Account of Weight and Measure after their own form.

All things in *Persia* are put into Balance, but Silk woven and Cloath; wherefore they weigh all Liquids, as well as Wood, Straw, and Metals; and measure by the *Cobit*,¹ or Cubit, what comes from the Loom, even their most fine Carpets.

Which brings us to examine their Weights, Measures, and Coins, or Current Money.

l.

A *Maund Shaw* is—12—Five Eighths.

A *Maund Taberez*—06—and a half.

Charack—01—and a quarter.

Miscolle.

Their lowest Weight is a *Miscolle*;² nearest our Ounce: whereof,

6 96 600 1200	make an Ounce. a Pound. a <i>Maund Tab.</i> a <i>Maund Shaw</i> , or the King's <i>Maund</i> .
------------------------	--

The King's *Cobit* consists of Inches, 36

The Carpet *Cobit* is little more than half the King's, it being but 18¹

Or highest four Thirds of our Yard.

¹ See vol. ii, 250.

² These are the Royal *man* (*man Shāhī*); *man* of Tabriz; and the third perhaps of Kharak, 30 miles north-west of Bushire. According to Stack (i, 110 n.) the Tabriz *man* is now equivalent to about 6½ lb.: the *shāhī man*, which is the Isfahān standard of weight, is twice as heavy. At Isfahān, says Wills (220), everything is sold by the *Shāhī man* of 13½ lb. In Shirāz they use the Tabriz *man*, the one standard weight of Persia, of 7 lb.

³ The *misqāl* is usually calculated at about 73 grains (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 568). “The *Shāhī man* is 1280 *misqals*, each *misqal* being $\frac{2}{3}$ of a *tola*” (Stack, i, 264 n.). Wills (220 n.) makes it one-sixth ounce, which agrees with Fryer.

The Money which passes is a Golden *Venetian*,¹ equivalent to our Angel.

And a *Turkish Abrahamee*,³ of inferior Value.

The one esteemed at 29 *Shahees*, and is called *Shekree*.
The other but at 27 and is called *Miseree*.

Money coined by *Shaw Abas* in Silver, has *Persian Characters* impressed, the highest worth Five *Abasses*, which is half'd, and then it is worth Two and an Half, which is Two-pence more than our Half-Crown; or 2s. 8d.

A single *Abassee* is Is. 4d.

Which amounts to Sixteen of our Pennies, intrinsick Value.

Which *Abassee* makes two *Manoodies*, os. 8d.

Or two Eightpenny Pieces, os. 8d.

A *Shahec* is Four Pence, or equal to our Groat, os. 4d.

Fifty *Abassees* make a *Thomand*, £3 6s. 8d.

Which is only Imaginary, there being no such Coin, but is to them to reckon by, as Pounds are to us, which we suppose to be Twenty Shillings; and their *Thousand* is valued at Three Pounds and a Noble, or Six and Eight-pence in *English Account*.

¹ See vol. ii, 130, note 1.

³ See vol. ii, 137, note 3. In a letter of 1621 we have: "Abraims . . . valued here [Broach] at Mahmūdis 8½ and two pices" (Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1618, 1621, p. 351).

³ The present scale, according to Wills (63 n.), is:	s. d.
"(Copper) 2 püls = 1 shahi (or shaie) . . . or English	0 0½
10 shahis = 1 banabat or half keran (silver)	0 5
20 shahis = 1 keran (silver)	0 10
10 kerans = 1 toman (tomaun) gold	7 6

I on arrival took my servants' accounts in tomauns and kerans, afterwards in kerans and shaies, and at last in kerans and püls; while an English merchant friend actually wrote his house accounts in dinars, and said it awed his servants! one thousand dinars make a keran, so one dinar is $\frac{1}{1000}$ of 9d."

Brass Money with Characters,
 Are a *Goss*,¹ ten whereof compose a *Shahee*.
 A *Gosbeege*, five of which go to a *Shahee*.
 Four *Goss* make one *Bistree*:²
 And 100 *Deniers* one *Mamoody*.
 And 20 *Pise* one *Shahee*:
 Both which are Nominal, not Real.

Geographical Measures,
 Are the *Persian Stathmus*, answering our *Perch*: And
Parasang,³ now *Pharsang*, which contains an Hundred and
 thirty *Stathmi*, or 3000 Paces; three of their Paces make a
Cubit Shaw,⁴ in way of Mensuration.

The last thing to be measured is Time, which accords
 with that which has been delivered in *India*.

¹ *Ghāz*, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 389.

² *Bistri*, which Herbert (231) reckons at twopence (*ibid.*, 389 f.). Lockyer (241) in 1711 gives the Persian coinage thus: 10 *Coz* or *Pice*, copper coin = 1 *Shahee*; 2 *Shahee* = 1 *Mamooda*; 2 *Shahee* and 5 *Coz* = 1 *Laree*; 2 *Mamooda* = 1 *Abassee*; 4 *Mahmooda* = 1 *Surat Rupee*; 50 *Abassee* or 200 *Shahee* = 1 *Tomand*; 31 to 32 *Shahee* = 1 *Chequeen*. The *Shahee*, he says, in the Company's accounts "is reckon'd worth 4d. English."

³ See vol. ii, 168.

⁴ The royal cubit or ell (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 268). "In Babylon the royal cubit is longer by three fingers' breadth than the common cubit" (Herodotus, i, 178, with Rawlinson's note, 3rd ed., 1875, vol. i, p. 299).

A FARTHER DISCOVERY OF INDIA.

LETTER VI.

CHAP. I.

Takes Notice of Broach; the Change of Governors at Surat; intestine Broils of the Empire; Rencounters of the English; and Portentous Accidents of this Year.

SIR,

Y last I had thought to have presented you with my own hands, but being still detained, I must persist to give you farther Trouble.

Forty Course¹ Northward of Surat lies Broach; it therefore being esteemed in relation to the English as a Branch of this Factory, upon any one of our Merchants being ill, they can easily and suddenly send a Messenger for Assistance; which gave me opportunity of seeing that City, soon after I had returned with the President to Surat.

The Way thither is twofold, either by Sea or Land; the first, from *Swally-hole*, makes an easy Passage up that Creek, or rather Arm of the Sea, to *Broach* River's Mouth, into which the River empties its self: The latter is measured over a spacious Plain, and is travelled either by Coach or on Horseback, both which I had for my Conveyance, together with the Attendance of a good Guard of the Com-

Kos, a measure of distance, see vol. i, 265.

pany's *Peons*, because of frequent Robberies hereabouts. Going out by *Broach-Gate*, we fell into a notable beaten Way;

*Hoc iter manifesta rotæ vestigia cernes.*¹

Contrary to whatevr we found in any Place of *Persia*, where are neither Carts, Coaches, or Wains: There we seldom meet any to turn us out of our Way; here the Roads are pester'd with Caphalaes of Oxen, Camels, and Bufoiaes, with heavy Waggons drawn by Teams of Oxen, yok'd Eight, sometimes a Dozen or Sixteen times double, bringing and carrying Goods of all sorts: There with Guides, here with Guards, for fear of Thieves descending from the Mountains,² or lying in Ambuscado among the Thickets: There they journey at all Seasons, secure from Weather or Assaults; here they must observe the set times, and move with a good Force, both to defend them from their own Armies, and the Insults of Outlaws: Here are no Caravans or Inns to shut them in a-nights, for then is their time of travelling; and when they rest, if they have no Tents, they must shelter themselves under shady Trees, or sometimes great Tombs in the Highways, unless they happen on a *Chowkre*,³ i.e., a Shed, where the Customer keeps a Watch to take Custom: Yet good Rivers are more often found here than there; and where they are deficient, they want not great Tanks or Ponds of Rain-Water mostly uncover'd and open to the Heavens, or else deep Wells many Fathom under Ground, with stately Stone Stairs, Cool Apartments, and Grottoes, whence Oxen (as has been said) draw Water, with huge Leathern Buckets or Pots around a Wheel,¹ to water their Gardens: But one thing

¹ *Hac sit iter: manifesta rotæ vestigia cernes*

(Ovid, *Metam.*, ii, 133).

² Such as those of the *Koli* tribe, who infested the roads in West India.

³ Probably a misprint for *Chowkie*, for which see vol. i, 252.
The Persian wheel.

you are more sure of here than there, and that is, Provisions of all sorts, in almost every Village, which stand thick hereabouts.

The Coaches (unless those called the President's) and Carts are much alike, the last being only stronger built with main Timber for strength. But it being no unpleasant spectacle to see one of these Chariots¹ equipped, I cannot forbear giving it you; though I am sensible it cannot be so well express'd in writing, as the Sight is now comically represented unto me: Two large Milk-white Oxen² are putting in to draw it, with circling Horns as black as a Coal, each Point tipped with Brass, from whence come Brass Chains across to the Headstall, which is all of Scarlet,³ and a Scarlet Collar to each, of Brass Bells, about their Necks, their flapping Ears snipped with Art, and from their Nostribs Bridles covered with Scarlet: The Chariot itself is not swinging like ours, but fasten'd to the main Axle by neat Arches, which support a Foursquare Seat, which is inlaid with Ivory, or enriched as they please; at every Corner are turn'd Pillars, which make (by twisted Silk or Cotton Cords) the Sides, and support the Roof, covered with English Scarlet Cloth, and lin'd with Silk, with Party-colour'd Borders; in these they spread Carpets, and lay Bolsters to ride cross-legg'd, sometimes three or four in one: It is born on two Wheels only, such little ones as our Forewheels are, and pinn'd on with a Wooden Arch, which serves to mount them: The Charioteer rides afore, a-straddle on the Beam that makes the Yoke for the Oxen, which is covered with Scarlet, and finely carved underneath; he carries a Goad instead of a Whip: In Winter (when they rarely stir) they

¹ These resembled the modern *bahî* or the more ponderous *rath*, used by portly bankers, native ladies, and dancing girls.

² The large white oxen of Gujarât are described, vol. i, 295.

³ Scarlet broadcloth (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 861).

have a *Mumjuma*,¹ or Wax-Cloth to throw over it. Those for Journeying are something stronger than those for the Merchants to ride about the City, or to take the Air on; which with their nimble Oxen they will, when they meet in the Fields, run Races on, and contend for the Garland as much as for an Olympick Prize; which is a Diversion, *To see a Cow gallop*, as we say in scorn; but these not only pluck up their Heels apace, but are taught to amble, they often riding on them.

Four-wheel'd Coaches, and to sit with the Legs hanging down, here are none, unless some few the *Europe* Merchants have, covered with Scarlet, and ill hung, being much like those sold at *London* to please little Children with, only larger, and lin'd with Velvet; they having no Horses managed for the Coach, or any skill'd to drive them, so that these also are drawn by Oxen.

Setting out about Sun-rise, we passed by pleasant Inclosures spread far from the City, and flourishing Fields of Corn, and Plantations of Tobacco; we came Three Course, and then ferried over the River to *Bereave*; a Village on the Bank of the other side; and at *Persaw*, two Course more, we broke our Fast; when it growing hot, we went but a

Pers. mārrūm, "waxcloth," used to cover letters or parcels during the rainy season. Abul Faiz (*Aīn*, i, 90) speaks of a garment used by Akbar, known as the Chakman, "made of broad-cloth, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth. His Majesty has it made of Dārāj wax cloth, which is very light and pretty. The rain cannot get through it." Manucci ii, 442 f.) states that the Rājis on the further side of the Ganges used to supply the Court with, among other things, wax—"with the last article they prepare a waxed cloth for the lining of tents and other uses in the royal household."

- Variāo, on the right bank of the Tapti, 3 miles north of Surat: the "Berieve" of a letter of 1619 (Foster, *English Factories*, 1618-1621, 120). "Persaw" does not appear on the common maps. The distance from Surat to Bharoch is forty miles, and the ordinary stages are Variāo, the crossing of the Tapti, Karelī, Kim Chauki, or Katadra, Panauli, Umar ida, Ankleswar, then crossing the Nerbuddā to Bharoch.

Course and a half over another small River before we baited under a Grove of Palms, or Toddy-Trees.

When the Crows came hither to roost (which they did in great Flocks) we departed, and at Midnight arrived at *Uncleser*,¹ the most *Northern Extent* of the Province of *Guserat* (after the old account) where Custom is exacted, a Bar of Thorns being stuck into a high Gate, opposing such as are to pay at each end of the Town. Here we slept at our Broker's House, and at Sun-rise proceeded over delicate Meadows to *Broach*-River, where round about it is all Campaign; betwixt where, we met more than Five hundred Oxen laden with Salt for the Inland Countries; and betwixt Nine and Ten passed *Broach* River in a Boat; which is a broad, swift, and deep River, but choaked up with drifts of Sand, by reason of Rains forced into the very Channel, so that good Pilots are required, to steer clear of them; by whose directions good lusty Vessels are brought up to the City-Walls, where they are laden with Salt and Corn, to be carried to those Parts that are not so well furnished; here being excellent Wheat and good Cottons, of the Growth of this Country.

It is likewise the Thoroughfare to *Lhor*, *Dhely*, *Agra*, and *Amidarovad*, which is the chief City now of this Province, as well as of *Guserat*; though *Broach* was the Metropolis when *Cambaya* was an Empire, which was before the *Portugals* were strong in these Parts, who made way for the *Mogul* to make an entire Conquest thereof: But as to what concerns its peculiar History, it was dismantled, and the Walls thrown down, for refusing Passage to *Shaw Juan's* Army, the Father to the present *Auren Zeeb*; - which, as

¹ Ankleswar, which appears in various forms in the early correspondence, Oncleseare, Uncleseie, Unclisear, Uglisiare, etc. (Foster, *ibid.*, 113, 238, 300, 331). It is still an important town in the Broach district: N. lat. 21° 38': E. long. 72° 59'.

² Broach or Bharoch was a place of much importance in early days, and is mentioned by many travellers and historians. "The fortifica-

appears by the Ruins, were very strong of old, being doubly wall'd and trench'd, into which Nine Gates still lead the way; wherein was an Heathen Temple, now converted into a Mosque,¹ looking over a rich Plain towards another, a Mile from the City, the Burying-place of their Emperors, where is entomb'd *Mahmoody*, the last of their Sultans; whose Progenitors being *Arab Moors*, were not sprung from the Heathen *Rajahs* on the Fall of *Ramras*,² but laying hold on those Divisions, came in by Conquest, and were the occasion also of the *Mogul-Tartars* being called in to assist the oppressed, who made not only Resistance against *Nishamshaw*, one of the three Treasonable Conspirators against *Ramras*, but a long while defended themselves against the *Mogul*, till unfortunately broke at the Siege of *Din, Sultan Badur* being defeated both by Sea and Land; he left a tottering Kingdom to *Mahmoody*, his Successor, who was afterwards vanquished by the *Mogul*, near the place where he now lies buried.

Nor does this place now yield small Advantage to the *Great Mogul*, Customs being paid here, and here being a good Trade; though at present a stop be put thereto by

tions, ascribed by tradition to Sidh Rāj Jaisinghji of Anhilwāra (A.D. 1094-1143) were strengthened and rebuilt by Bahādur Shāh (1526-1536). In 1660, under the orders of the Emperor Aurangzeb, parts of the walls were thrown down: but, twenty-five years later, the same monarch was forced to rebuild them to save the city from Marātha assaults" (*Bombay Gaz.*, ii, 551).

¹ The Jāma Masjid, or Cathedral Mosque, a magnificent specimen of the earlier Muhammadan style, is composed almost entirely of pillars taken from Hindu temples, on the site of which it stands (*ibid.*, ii, 556).

² Rāma Rājā, for whom see vol. ii, 47. The history of the dynasty of Ahmadābād extended over 170 years (A.D. 1403-1573). Mahmūd II, the "Mahmoody" of the text (1536-1554) was assassinated by his servant Burhān. The country was conquered and the dynasty came to an end on the invasion by Akbar in 1573. At the time of Fryer's visit the province was ruled by the 36th viceroy, Muhammad Amin Khān, Umdat-ul-Mulk, son of Mir Jumla (1674-1683). See *Bombay Gaz.*, i, pt. i, 234 ff.

Raja Jessinsins being lately dead,¹ who set the present Emperor on his Throne, together with *Emir Jemla*,² and the Emperor's demanding the Treasury and Territories of the Widow; and her sending this Answer thereupon (the same almost in effect the *Spartans* were wont, among whom it was a saying, *Our Kingdoms extend as far as we can cast our Darts*); so she returned, *Money I have none, but Swords good store*: Which has brought all the Infidels into a Confederacy with her.

And the Governor of this Province, but a late Convert, and a kin to her, begins to make Parties for the Advancement of one of the *Sultans* he has espoused, to Dethrone *Auren Zeeb*, as he did his Father *Shaw Gehaun*, by the Assistance of his Father *Emir Genla*: Whereupon the *Mogul* is engaged over Head and Ears in Wars, calling the *Cauz of Brampore*³ to his help.

Which gives occasion to *Seva Gi*, and a Neighbouring *Raja*, the one to move towards *Surat*, the other to set upon *Brampore*; which had put such a Consternation on the Merchants, that at my return they were all fled with their Wealth, Wives and Families, not thinking themselves safe within the Walls of *Surat*; which are now compleat and able to beat off a strong Enemy, would they stand to it: But having formerly felt the hostile Cruelties of *Seva Gi*,

¹ Mahārājā Jaswant Singh died near the Khyber Pass on 18th December 1678, leaving a widow and two infant sons. When Aurangzeb endeavoured to get the latter into his power, they were rescued by the Rājputs under Durgā Dās, and escaped to Jodhpur, the government of which, after various adventures, they obtained on the death of Aurangzeb (Elphinstone, *H. of India*, 638 ff.; Elliot-Dowson, vii, 187; Tod, *Annals*, ii, 64 ff.; Manucci, ii, 233 f.).

² Mīr Jumla, Mīr Muhammad Sa'īd, a Sayyid from Ardistān, afterwards called Mu'azzam Khān, Khān Khānān, Sipāh Sālār, died in Bengal, 10th April 1663 (Manucci, i, 226 n., and other references in M. Irvine's *Index*).

³ Burhānpur, in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces. Lat. 21° 18' N.; Long. 76° 14' E.

besides the present Governor being a better Politician than Warrier, has hitherto only Mulcted the *Banians* to cast a Crust before this Wolf, and he still expecting the usual Tribute, descends now in hopes of the same Booty, Burning and Spoiling the Country about till they send him a Peace Offering; of which they having informed the Emperor now the Walls are built, that he Taxes them as much as before, and that his Musters are not half filled for the defence of the place, *Morad Beck*¹ the present *Auren Zeeb's* Armour-Bearer in all his Wars, is coming with force both to displace him, and to succour the place:

Who took Possession in the beginning of *May*, and the late Governor parted well content with what he had gotten during his holding that Employment.

This Exchange brought some Blows upon *Seva Gi's* pilfering Troops, being encountered before the latter end of the Month by the new Governor's Soldiers, not without loss, some Cartloads of the slain being brought hither to be Interred.

The Rains are this year set in with that violence, that the very Tops of the Trees hereabouts are all under Water; and since the great *Mogul* by reason of these interruptions cannot go on to overcome the *Pagans*, he wreaks his Malice by assessing them with heavy Polls, that are not of his

¹ Mr. Lllyne has been unable to trace any officer named Murād Beg. He suggests that Fryer may mean Muhammad Beg Turkmān, called successively Kārtlab Khān and Shuja'ab Khān. He was succeeded at Surat by Salābat Khān. There are references to these changes in the correspondence at the India Office. It is reported that "The Govr. of Surat like to be changed. . . . Ghaysty Chaune the former Govr. of Surat being turned out of his place" (O.C. 4270, 31 August 1677; 4563, 21 January 1678).

- The heavy rainfall is mentioned in a letter in O.C. 4508, 19 October 1678.

Faith, under his Dominions; and those not able to pay, are compelled to turn *Musselman*, so that they begin to desert in abundance.'

The Rains being over, great preparations are making to go against the obstinate *Pagans*, the Emperor marching out of *Juan Abau²* 100,000 strong, besides Ordnance, Elephants, and other Warlike provisions.

At the beginning of *September* the *Juddah* Fleet,³ freighted with Religion and Pelf, made this Port, bringing Fifty *Leques* worth of *Rupees* in Cash, which is so many Hundred Thousand: It could not be improved till the Governor had released the *Shroffs* or Bankers, whom he had clapp'd up on pretence of Conspiring with the late Governor to Cheat the King, by Coining more Money than had been accounted for; but intercession being made by our President, they were set at liberty, for that our Company's Bullion was also coming from *England*, the Ships being arriv'd at *Bombaim*; and these are they that try and set the value on all Metals.

Our *English* Ships had no sooner left the Port at *Bombaim*, but that *Seva Gi* had posted several Hundred Men on *Henry Kenry*,⁴ a Rock in the Mouth of the Bay, on pretence of hindring the *Syddys* Men going in and out; whereupon a small Bark, with an old Captain, being sent to

¹ This is the Jizyah to which Fryer elsewhere refers (vol. i, 275). The imposition of this hated impost is described by Khāfi Khān (Elliot-Dowson, vii, 296), and the true year in which it was first levied (1679-80) is fixed by Manucci (ii, 234).

² Shāhjahānbād, or New Delhi. The campaign against the Rājputs began after the rainy season of 1680 (Elphinstone, 640 f.: Khāfi Khān in Elliot-Dowson, vii, 298 ff.).

³ The annual Red Sea pilgrim fleet.

⁴ The twin islets, Vondari and Khandari (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 413). On Sivaji's designs on Henry Kenry, see India Office F. B. Surat, iv. 63, 4 September 1679; O.C. 4675, 4691, 4665-6, 4699.

demand their Business there, and he landing with his Men imprudently, were all cut off by the *Barbarians*.¹

After this Action, Seven Prowes and one small Ship (the Pink) were ordered to lie at an Anchor and block up the Avenues before the Rock; which seen by the *Barbarians* on Shore, the first fair Wind they Manned out Forty Gallies, at whose approach our Prowes fled all but one, which was easily vanquished; and the Pink feigned a fear likewise, whereat they being encouraged, Boarded her with a terrible noise, who cleared her Decks with her small shot, and blew some Hundreds up from her Prow and Poop, and then plying her great Guns, on those who were Board and Board, sunk Four of their Gallies, and put the rest to flight; which made them more afraid than at the first onset, being glad to bear away with the rest; however they in this skirmish succoured the Besieged with Five Boats laden with Provisions.²

A Month after they appeared again with all their strength, and the *English* being recruited with another small Ship, engaged them, and gave them the rout, following them into their own Harbours, where they got hastily ashore and drew up their Vessels under some small Guns planted to secure them.

Whilst our Fleet were busy in this Enterprise, and left some Boats to shut up the River *Tull*,³ the *Syddy* came before *Henry Keiry*, where he lies with his Flct; who, should he get Footing there, would be as bad a Thorn as *Seva Gi*.

"Under these circumstances [the occupation of the islands] the English, in conjunction with their new allies the Siddees, attempted to eject the Marathas. Their first step was to send an aged Captain or—as another writer states, with more probability—a drunken Lieutenant [Bruce says 'an aged Captain'; Orme 'a Lieutenant in a fit of drunkenness'] with instructions to demand why the intruders had come to Khaneri. This officer being induced to land, he and his crew were treacherously cut off" (Anderson, 174).

¹ This gallant action was fought by the little man-of-war, the *Revenge*, commanded by Captain Minchin, with whom was the gallant Captain Keigwin, who was Commodore for the occasion.

² See vol. i, 199, 329.

In the mean while that the *Mogul* Marched against the *Rashpoots*, his eldest Son came to *Brampore*¹ with a mighty Army; for all that *Seva* spoils the Country at his pleasure, knowing well the *Sultan* will not break his Forces to hazard a Battel till he sees how his Father speeds, that he may be the better able to promote his own Interest for the Crown: On which score it is unhappy both for the Husbandman and Merchant, who suffer on all hands, being pillaged and plundered without redress.

This Year hath been filled with Two Portentous Calamities, the one Inland, a Shower of Blood for Twelve Hours;² the other on the Sea-Coast, *Mechlapatan* being overturned by an Inundation, wherein Sixteen thousand Souls perished.³ And this being the sum of this Anniversary, I remain,

Yours,
J. F.

Surat, December 31.
1679.

¹ Burhanpur.

² Showers of blood and of blood-red snow, the latter due to one of the Algae (*protoctes nivalis*), or to red desert dust, are common (Geikie, *Text Book of Geology*, 1885, p. 311). One of the chromogenic or colour-producing bacteria (*bacillus prodigiosus*) produces the so-called "bloody spots" on bread. The *Saxon Chronicle* (Rolls Series, 202, 203, 206) records the occurrence of showers of blood. For folklore explanations of stains believed to be of blood, see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,² i, 406.

¹ Manucci (iii, 295) writes: "At the end of October 1701, the sea destroyed about fifteen villages on the coast of Mazalipatam (Machhlipatnam). With reference to this catastrophe I have always noticed in this country that when such disasters occur they are a prelude to war and coming misfortunes." In a note on this passage (iv, 452) Mr. Irvine points out, on the authority of Havart (*Op en Ondergang van Cormantel*, i, 196-205) that this flood really occurred on 23-25 October 1679, which corroborates Fryer's statement. This disaster was reported to the Company—"Mechlapatan being overturned by an Inundation": "Narrative of the Inundation that hapned at Metchlepatam" (O.C. 4663, 4691). A similar tidal wave in 1864 practically destroyed the town of Masulipatam, 30,000 persons perishing in the catastrophe (*Imp. Gaz.*, 1908, xvii, 217). Cyclones, accompanied by storm-waves, caused enormous loss of human beings and cattle in the district of Bâkarganj in Bengal in 1822 and 1876 (*ibid.*, vi, 166).

LETTER VII.

CHAP. I.

Continues the general Occurrences with Remarks.

SIR,

A MIDST these Wars and rumours of Wars, we quietly lay down our Arms, and leave *Seva Gi* and the *Syddy* alone to contend for our stony piece of Ground on *Henry Kenry*; how much to our Honour or Reproach, may be gathered from the Language we have daily cast in our Teeth; “Why Vaunts your Nation? What Victories have you atchieved? What has your Sword done? Who ever felt your Power? What do you possess? We see the *Dutch* outdo you; the *Portugals* have behaved themselves like Men; every one runs you down; you can scarce keep *Bombaim*, which you got (as we know) not by your Valour, but Compact; And will you pretend to be Men of War, or Cope with our Princes? It’s fitter for you to live on Merchandise and submit to us.¹

But for all these Revilings *Seva Gi* makes them tremble here, forgetting that twice their Safety has been owing to us, from falling into the hands of that terrible Plunderer.

For all which the *Mogul* continues a double Poll on the Heathens this Year,² and breaks down their Idolatrous

¹ The Deputy Governor in Council requested permission from the Court to expel the Marāthas. The Court replied: “Although we formerly wrote to you that we will have no wai for Hendry Kendry, yet all war is so contrary to our constitution, as well as our interest, that we cannot too often inculcate to you our aversion thereunto.” This cautious policy, called timidity by the nations, led to their mortifying the Factors by taunts such as those recorded by Fryer (Anderson, 175).

² In the India Office Records (O.C. 4675, 18 November 1679) this taxation is reported.

Images where-ever he finds them; whereupon the Heathen begin to Worship in Dens and Caves, and solitary Places, being forbidden their open Celebrations.

In the heat of all these Combustions, the Firebrand *Seva Gi* is called to pay the common Debt to Nature, he Expiring June 1. 1680.¹ though after some time his Arms are carried on by his Son *Sambu Gi Raja*, whose first care was to solemnize his Father's Exequies with hellish and cruel Rites, after the barbarous Custom of these Princes, to Burn all that were grateful to them when living, to attend them in the other state of Life;² doubtless deriving it (which is more than alluding to) from the ancient *Getæ*, their first Parents, and not theirs alone, but of all the World since the Deluge; who, as *Nich. Damascen* reports, *Tauri gens Scythica una cum Regibus mortuis gratissimos quosque amicorum humare solent*; and *Solinus*, as well as *Pomponius Mela*, says the same of their Wives, *Funera Festa sunt, & veluti sacra cantu lusuque celebrantur, ne fæminis quidem segnis est animus, super mortuorum virorum corpora interfici simulque sepeliri votum eximium habent; & quia plures simul singulis nuptæ sunt cujus id sit decus apud judicaturos magno certamine affectant:* Which

¹ The exact date of the death of Sivaji is uncertain, having probably from political considerations been concealed as long as possible. The *Maâsir-i-Alamgîrî* and the *Târikh-i-Mulammadi* give 22 May 1680 (Manucci, ii, 231 n.); Grant Duff (131), 5 April 1680 (O.S.); R. P. Karakaria, 5 May 1680 (? O.S.); Orme, *Historical Fragments* (4th ed., 258), 5 April 1680 (O.S.). Mr. Irvine, since his edition of Manucci went to press, informs me that he has found contemporary French evidence (F. Martin, *Mémoires, Archives Nationales*, Paris, MS. T. 1169, fol. 308 verso) in a letter from Clénient, the French agent at Râjapur, dated 29 April 1680, in which he says that Sivaji had died twelve days previously, i.e., 17 April 1680 (N.S.). The concealment of the exact date at the Marâtha Court is shown by the fact that one of his widows was not allowed to become a Suttee for some weeks after the cremation of her husband (Grant Duff, 134). The event was reported to the Company (O.C. 4705, 18 October 1680).

² For early references to the practice of Suttee, see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,² i, 464 ff.

here, though it be said to be slain and buried with their Husbands, is the same as to be burned, since the Custom of burying also with their Husbands has been before declared, and still is maintained to be put in execution among these Heathen Princes. *Sera Gi*, while living, as he delighted in Fire and Sword, so he was sent out of the World with a numerous Company consumed in his Flames: Yet not such a Train as *Raja Jessinsin* had when he died, which was far greater, being a more Potent, though less Barbarous *Raja*; but his Widow now holding out against the *Mogul*, though his Prime Lady, being then big with Child, was excused, and she still is preserved to bring up the Young Prince, whom they own for their *Raja*.¹

Thus these two great *Rajas* being disposed of by Fate, the *Gentiles* seem to be under hatches (the *Mogul* for the present persecuting them with the utmost severity and hatred) and the rather, for that the great Ministers of the deceased *Sera Gi*, were at variance about the Promotion of the Successor:² *Anna Gi Pundit*,³ Chief Minister of State, setting up the Younger Son, and *Morad Pundit* declaring for *Sambu Gi*, the Eldest;⁴ who after punishing his Opposers, was before the time fit for Expedition in the Low

¹ The chief Rānī of Rājā Jaswant Singh, mother of his posthumous son Ajīt, was not permitted to commit suicide. But his other queens and seven concubines were burnt on his pyre (Tod, *Annals*, ii, 64 f.).

² For the intrigues regarding the succession on the death of Sivaji, see Grant Duff, 134.

³ Annājī Datto, one of Sivaji's most confidential Brahmins, was put in command of a body of Māwalias in 1659, and secured the surrender of Panhāla and Pawangad: in 1666 he was one of the three officers appointed by Sivaji to command his territories during his absence at Delhi: in 1673 he plundered Hubli: in 1676 he was in command in the Konkan. After Sivaji's death his successor, Sambhājī, caused him to be trampled to death by elephants (Grant Duff, 79, 95, 115, 123, 137).

⁴ Moro Pandit (see vol. i, 204, 207) supported the claims of Sambhājī to the succession in opposition to those of Rājā Rām, who was put forward by the other Pradhāns. He was confirmed as Peshwa by Sambhājī, but never succeeded in gaining his confidence (Grant Duff, 134).

Countries, proclaimed *Maw Raja*,¹ or the lawful Heir to his Father's Conquests.

In this Interim the *Mogul*, jealous of his Eldest Son, had sent him to the *Goualar* or *Post*;² but the next being commanded from their Kingdoms where they were fixed, the one *Sultan Assum* in *Bengala*, the other *Sultan Massum* in *Aurengabad*,³ have refused to resign, and stand upon defiance if they be farther moved; which Resentments the Father must smother a while, having been twice out this Year against the Infidels with a numerous Army, which have been as often distressed by Famine, and forced to return without engaging; the *Rashpoots* leading them into Straits, while they shift from Mountain to Mountain, and studiously avoid coming to blows.

The Emperor being returned to Court, makes much of his youngest Son, whom all give out he intends to raise to the Throne after his Death, whose Name is *Sultan Eck-bar*;¹ but at present being wholly bent on the Ruin and

¹ *Mahārājā*.

² Gwalior, one of the Mughal State prisons, where captives were done to death by opium draughts (*post*), a term which Fryer misunderstood. Such poisoning is described by Tavernier (ed. Ball, i, 63), and Bernier (57 n., 83, 85, 106 n.). "The prisons of Gwalior are situated in a small outwork on the western side of the fortress, immediately above the Dhondha gateway. They are called *no-choki*, or "the nine cells," and are both well lighted and well ventilated. But in spite of their height, from fifteen to twenty-six feet, they must be insufferably close in the hot season. These were the State prisons in which Akbar confined his rebellious cousins, and Aurangzib the troublesome sons of Dāra and Murād, as well as his own more dangerous son Muhammad. During these times the fort was strictly guarded, and no one was allowed to enter without a pass" (Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, ii, 369).

³ Muhammad Sultān, eldest son of Aurangzeb, died on 5 December 1676 in the prison at Gwalior, and was buried near the Qutb Minār at Delhi (Bernier, 83). His second son, Muhammad Muazzam, the "Massum" of the text, succeeded his father as Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh (1643-1611-12). The third, 'Azam Shāh, was killed in battle with his brother, Bahādur Shāh in 1707.

⁴ Akbar, youngest son of Aurangzeb, born 1657, rebelled against his father, and joined Sambhaji in 1681. He fled to Persia, where he died in 1706.

Exirpation of the *Gentiles*, he forbears to nominate him as yet.

And to weaken the Conspirators, has order'd the Governor of *Amidavad* to join him, who being originally a *Gentile*, inclines to favour the *Ranna*, seeking to deliver her from the Tricks of the Intriguing Generals, who while she committed her Cause and her self to their Instructions, had almost ruined her, pretending they would represent her State to the Emperor in favour of her; who meaning nothing less than to delude her (while she bribed well), bid her not be solicitous, or take thought for her safety, till her chief City of *Chetore*¹ was surprized; wherefore *Mahmud Emir Caun*, being of the Juncto, and privy to the Designs of the Court, discovers to the Emperor not only how the Generals *Badur Caun* and others had been treating with the *Ranna*, and that she was bought and sold by them, with the Money she had sent to the *Mogul* himself to purchase Peace, which they had defrauded him of; but that also *Cabul Caun* of his Privy Council, held Correspondence with *Sultan Massum in Duccan*; and that a general Defection was likely to ensue, if he pursued to afflict the Heathens to a desperate Resistance.²

This Truth, though he stomach'd, he could not but own, yet resolved to dissemble it; and having seized Letters

¹ Chitor, the ancient capital of Mewâr: Lat. 24° 53' N., Long. 74° 39' E. "Chytor (in mid-way 'twixt Brampore and Adsmeer) is yet a Citie, justly clayming precedencie for antiquity amongst all the Cities of Indya" (Herbert, 102, who identifies it with Taxila!); "An ancient Citty, ruined on a hill, but so that it appears a toombe of wonderfull magnificence" (Sir T. Roe, i, 102, ii, 540). For the events alluded to by Fryer, see Elphinstone, 640.

² Fryer's account of these transactions, gained from hearsay, is very inaccurate. He seems to have confused the Rânâ of Udaipur with the Rânî, widow of Jaswant Singh. Mr. Irvine, quoting *Târikh-i-Muhammadi*, year 1072 H., and *Maâsir-i-Âlangiri*, p. 190, is inclined to identify the "Cabul Caun" of the text with Abu'l Fath Qâbil Khân, Mir Munshî of the Emperor Aurangzeb. The facts are given by Khâfi Khân (Elliot-Dowson, vii, 298, 304); but characteristically his chronology is incorrect by a year.

signed from *Cabul Caun* to *Sultan Massum*, to begin a Rebellion while his Father was in *Asnire*¹ against the *Ranna*, (which were intercepted by the Advice or Cunning, I know not which, of *Emir Caun*), he found in what condition he was, and that it was time to withhold; but for a Reward of the Treason designed, he order'd *Cabul Caun* immediately to be thrown down a steep Rock, as a Terror to the Conspirators.

And now being returned, he hardly forbears uttering his Mind, about his Intention to make all the Heathen *Mussel-men*; and told his Chief Scrivan² seriously one day, That he must lose his Place, unless he would be of his Religion: To which the subtle Heathen replied, " *Salab*, (i.e.) Sir, why will you do more than the Creator ever meant? You see hardly two Faces bear exactly the same Features: Look farther into the World, and behold the variety of Creatures! God has made Elephants, Tygres, Horses, Camels, Sheep, and Oxen, of different Figures, and Man of a more exalted Composure than the rest; whereas had the All-wise Disposer of Things thought it convenient, he might have rested contented in one only Form; but every one of these in their several Species glorifies their Maker: And so it has pleased God to permit Variety of Religions, by which Men worship and call upon him; nor can they go on in any one against his Will, to which whatever is contrary cannot continue; and till he make Men to be of one mind, in vain does any go about to compel what he has ingrafted in their hearts." This rational Discourse kept the *Brachmin* in his Office, but could not quite extinguish his conceived Prejudice against their Superstitions.³

¹ Ajner.

² Post. *escrivão*, a clerk (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 804).

³ Compare the famous letter from Rānā Rāj Singh of Mewār to Aurangzeb: "If your Majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed, that God is

Which he made appear, by giving Order to demolish all the Temples, and deface the Pagods his Army had possessed themselves of in *Asmire*, the Country of *Raja Jessinsin*; and chiefly *Chetore*¹ felt in a few days the Overthrow of what many years could not entirely finish, most magnificent Marble Structures being levell'd to the ground, and laid prostrate to his Rage and Fury.² A Draught of which City is here inserted, being transmitted by an *English* Gunner in that Service, an Eye witness both of its Glory and Destruction. A Place by Site invincible, had not the *Mogul's* Commanders Treachery gained on the Faith of an easy Woman; who relying on their Mediation, neglected the Means of her own Security, there being neither Men nor Ammunition to oppose his Entry; whereupon they left all open, and retreated in disorder from the approaching Foe, to Places better provided, and inaccessible to any but those who are acquainted with the Recesses: Sullyng hereby the brave Provocation that drew on her the Emperor's Arms; which she might have prevented at first by a mean Compliance, or more nobly now by a stout resistance; rather than by a base Flight yield to the Will of a devouring Enemy, which not only keeps fast hold by a sufficient Force, but does despite to their Altars, and lays waste their Country Gods. This shews either want of Conduct, or an abject Spirit in the *Rashpoots*, or at least an irresolute Temper in the *Ranna*, who did unadvisedly dare, when she

the God of all mankind, not the God of Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are equally in His Presence. Distinctions of colour are of His ordination. It is He who gives existence. In your temples to His name the voice is raised in prayer: in a house of images, when the bell is shaken, He is still the object of adoration. To vilify the religion or customs of other men is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty" (Tod, *Annals*, i, 400 f.).

¹ Chitor, the celebrated fortress in Udaipur, Rājputānā, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, x, 298 ff.

² Chitor was overthrown by Shāh Jahān in 1653-4. In 1679 Aurangzeb demolished sixty-three temples (Elliot-Dowson, vii, 103, 188).

was impotent, to maintain the Challenge; or, which is worse, she foolishly applied her self to the Servants, when the Master was proud of her Fetters (she being a Rare Creature): So that the ground of this Quarrel, however hypocritically gilded with an Holy War, is Love; as is demonstrable from the kind Offers left with the Plenipotentiaries towards an Accommodation; unless the sordid and unfaithful humour of his *Couns* should prompt him to clap up a Peace, that he might be more at leisure to ward himself, and free his Affairs from such corrupt Ministers. What the Causc is, (though unknown yet,) that his Forces were withdrawn from following his good Fortune in the midst of his Career against the Infidels, appears a Riddle; if it be not to carry on the Custom of this Empire, never to go through with any Conquest.

This Year a Drought was feared, which the *Brachmins* interpret a Judgment for the Emperor's persecuting the *Gentues*; which whether it gain credit among all People, I cannot tell. But that Night and Day a mixed Multitude of all sorts run through the Streets of this City after the *Brachmins* carrying a Board with Earth upon their Bare-heads, and crying *Bowo hege pannr bes*;¹ on which old and young make the Chorus to the Precentor, sprinkling Water and sowing Rice thereon, saying the same after the *Brachmin*, which in English is, *God give us Water*; and on this impending Affliction they are very charitable, and give great Largesses to the Poor.

I should have concluded these Remarks here, had not a wonderful Sign in the Heavens appeared to call for our

¹ This perhaps represents *Bāwāji, pānt bars!* "Saint, cause the rain to fall!" The charm may be compared with the "Gardens of Adonis" described by Sir J. Frazer, which he considers to be "charms to promote the growth or revival of vegetation; and the principle by which they were supposed to produce this effect was homoeopathic or imitative magic" (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 137 ff., where Indian examples are quoted).

Animadversion; which beginning the Twentieth of *November*, disappeared not till the latter end of *January*, which enters on the next Year, that within the space of our *Europe* Fleet may bring you the Rise and Fall of the most prodigious Comet I ever was witness to;¹ or it may be, the oldest Man alive: What makes me the more willing is, that I may have your Account over Land, whether it was visible in *England*, and what Observations our prying World have made thereon.

Eleven degrees from the Earth *South-East*, a terrible flaming Torch was seen in the Skies in *Capricorn*, near the Head of *Sagittarius*, darting it's Rays upwards to the Stars; at first not above two Ells in a small Stream, but day by day as it inclined to the Horizon, the Flame grew longer but slenderer; it rose first at Three in the Morning, and so later and later till the Sun out-shone it; and as if it had circled the Globe, at last it arose and set at Nights, after the Sun was down, when we beheld it *IV.N.IV.* which was on the Evening of the Twelfth of *December*, and about Seven at Night; at first no bigger than a man's hand from its coming forth of the Horizon, which thence arose with a mighty Fulgor or shining Light for more than

¹ This was the celebrated comet of 1680, known as Newton's Comet, from the observation of which the great astronomer proved that comets revolve round the sun in elliptic orbits, but an ellipse much more elongated and eccentric than those of the planets, and that, consequently, they are returned in their orbit by the same force which regulates the motion of the planets. Hence it was natural to infer that some at least of the comets moving in elliptic orbits would return to view, after having revolved through the whole circuit of these (W. T. Lynn, *Remarkable Comets*, 7 ff.). It is supposed to be that which appeared at Caesar's death (44 B.C.); in the reign of Justinian (A.D. 531); in the time of Henry II (A.D. 1106). The Madras Records thus describe it: "Wednesday, 22nd December 1680. The Blazing star which in the middle of the month of November appeared about 4 in the morning, in the middle of this month (December) appeared in the evening just at the setting of the Sun, and does now appear 15 Degrees above the horizon, at half an hour after six at night, the tail pointing to the north-east 65 Degrees long" (Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, i, 123).

Nine Degrees as big as a Rainbow, towards the highest part of the Hemisphere; or to speak more truly, like a Pillar of Fire, whose Basis, whether for its tardy rise, or the Clouds gathered about the Atmosphere, I could not discern till the Seventeenth, it setting about Nine of the Clock; but after that time it ascended above the Horizon, and passing the middle of the Heavens (which afore it seemed to enlighten after Seven) as it grew higher it lost of its Brightness and Splendour, but looked more fiery.

January the 16th. 1684 it had attained its *Zenith*, when about the Noon of Night it vanished, and so by degrees at last it came to nothing.

While this was reigning, several in the Hole and Buzzar at *Swally*, attested they saw two Moons; others of our *English*-men out a Hunting after Sun-set, saw an unusual Star of the bigness of the Sun, which must certainly be this fiery Ejaculation, striking obliquely upwards, being equally thick until its highest part had stretched its self into a Colum. It pointed towards the *North*, and whether it be Meteor, Comet, or Exhalation, it is certainly ominous; and since they disclaim its Influence here, I wish it may not affect our *Europe* Kingdoms; for says *Claudian*,

In caelo nunquam spectatum impune Cometam.¹

In Heaven no Comet ever shin'd,
Which was not grievous to Mankind.

I am,

Yours,

J. F.

The 25th Jan. our Ships
setting sail then from
Swally-Hole. 1684.

¹ Claudian, *De Bello Get.* 243: *Et nunquam caelo spectatum impune cometem.* Compare the alarm felt at the appearance of a comet in the time of Shâh 'Abbâs: the astronomers declared that it portended war to many nations, but not to Persia (Malcolm, *Hist.*, i, 359). Another in the 13th year of Jahângîr was followed by an outbreak of pestilence

LETTER VIII.

CHAP. I.

Concludes with my return to ENGLAND.

SIR,

LEAVING the Affairs of *India* in the posture I have acquainted you; I begin to think of returning to my Native Soil, the Fleet here being ready to set sail for *England*;

The Success, Captain Cooly Commander,

Massenberg, Captain Haddock;

Josiah, Captain Owen.

At the same time Mr. Rolt the late President took his Passage in the *Josiah*:¹ The Second of *India*, Mr. Chamberlane,² in the *Success* as I took mine in the *Massenberg*:

(Elliot-Dowson, vi, 407). While the Comet of 1665 was visible, Aurangzeb drank only a little water, and ate a small quantity of millet bread (Tavernier, ed. Ball, i, 388). Terry (*Voyage*, 393) refers to two comets in 1618 which brought drought and famine. That of 1705 was interpreted by the Brahmans to signify the approaching death of Aurangzeb, and devastation in many parts of the Empire (Manucci, iv, 247). Hindus believe that a comet is fatal to mustache-wearers, or men, if its tail be downwards: to tail-wearers, or animals, if it point upwards (*Bombay Gazetteer*, ix, pt. i, 405).

¹ After the death of Gerald Aungier in June 1677, Thomas Rolt or Rolte acted provisionally as President, and when he left India in January 1682, John Child, who in that year was created a Baronet, succeeded to the highest authority (Anderson, 150, *Bombay Gazetteer*, xxvi, pt. i, 78 ff.).

² Miss E. B. Sainsbury writes: "This is Cesar Chambreln who, on December 26, 1673, signs as Fourth of the Surat Council, (*Fac. Records*, Surat, vol. iii). This is the first time I find his name. On 9 April 1675 he arrives, with three of the Surat Council, at Bombay, 'to assist the President in severall weighty affaires' (*Fac. Rec.*, Bombay, vol. ii); see also Fryer, vol. i, 303. From January 1677 until his departure for England on 24 January 1682, in the *Success*, he signs

Mr. John Child being removed from the Government of *Bombaim* to the Presidency; which was the 19th. of *January* in the Year 1681.¹

Till the Twelfth of *February* we directed a Southern Course, when about Two in the Morning the Moon suffered an Eclipse, and in half an hours time was almost totally hid, which endured till Four in the Morning: In Four or Five days after, about the Seventh Degreec of North Latitude, we met the Sun coming towards the North, and passed him to the Southward, when he often raised Vapours from the Sea to thicken the Air, and obscure his Face, which were as often poured down upon us, we having here uncertain Weather, sometime wet, sometime calm, though most an end, according to *Varenius's* Position, the Winds hold Easterly from the First of *January* till the End of *July*, as far as Ascension, and then turn Westerly: We met hereabouts with a Tree bestuck with Sea-Shells, which made us lie by a-nights for fear of the Chaugo's.¹

And now dreadful Thunders cause the Sea to tremble, and Lightnings fly through the Heavens in frightful Flashes; by reason of these alterations we went but slowly, being but Ten Degrees Southward of the Sun on the First of *March*, when a South-East Wind favoured us; with which sailing fortunately enough, we were damped by a Mischance on one of our Young men, who going up the Shrowds to loose the Top-Gallons, by the unadvised letting go of some Bowling, was hoisted into the Main, and perished, the Ship having fresh Way, and the Boats lying on Board; they threw over several Planks and Vessels, but he made no sign of contending with the Waves, or

as "Second of Council at Surat." He sometimes signs as "Casar Chambrelan" (Forest, *Home Series*, i, 76, 77, 78, 80 etc.).

¹ Chagos, a group of atolls in the Indian Ocean, disposed round the Chagos Bank: N. Lat. 4° 44' to 7° 39': E. Lat. 70° 55' to 72° 52': separated from the Maldives by a deep channel 300 miles wide (*Lency. Brit.*¹¹, v, 800).

Motion to save himself: Wherefore it was judged he had his bane against the Ships side, or some Gun in his Fall before ever he came at the Water; and in this hurry we were presently carried out of sight, so that he was left for desperate, and given over as lost.

Before the Tenth of this Month, St. *Brandon* an Island on the East,¹ and *Diego Rais*² to the South, were passed by; as also St. *Maurice*³ kept lately by the *Dutch*, for no other end but to prevent others settling there; as *Mascarenas*,⁴ not far from it, by the *French*, for the same reason. The day after the Sun was possessed of the *Aequinox*, we made the Tropick of *Capricorn*, from whence the *Platonists* feign the Souls descend upon the Earth; but more truly it declared that we drew near the Coasts of *Africa*; for having hitherto measured a Southern Way almost directly, we now incline towards the West, having not more Meridional distance from *Joanna*⁵ than Nine Degrees; but now we begin to bend our Course Westward, which we should do in a strait Line, were it not for St. *Lawrence*,⁶ the outside whereof our Navigators always pass by homeward bound, it lying Twelve Degrees South, to Six and Twenty and an half, which we suppose to be Three hundred Leagues West of us, though here being a strong Current to the West, it makes our Judgment very unsteady; however to make the Cape, it is necessary to elevate our Longitude

¹ St. Brandon's Islands, a group including Cargados Islands, Albatross Island, Pearl Island, Coco Island, lying in the Indian Ocean east of Madagascar.

² A group of mythical islands near the Maldives, which appear in early maps. See Gray's note on Pyrard de Laval, i, 49 f.

³ Mauritius, occupied by the Dutch, 1598-1710.

⁴ Mascarenhas or Mascarene Islands, a group including Mauritius, Réunion, and Rodriguez, which took their name from the Portuguese navigator, Garcia Mascarenhas, by whom Bourbon or Réunion, at first called Mascarenhas, was discovered in 1505 (*Ency. Brit.*¹¹, xvii, 836).

⁵ See vol. i, 56.

⁶ See vol. i, 54.

more than our Latitude, which we did till we had made Fourteen Degrees West from our supposed Meridian of *Joanna*, whereby we reckon our selves clear of the Island *Madagascar*, or as the *Portugals* call it, *St. Lawrence*; when the East Wind failed us, and the West blew hard upon us, contrary to the assertion of the forementioned Author; the Winds, as we formerly Noted, beyond the Tropicks being unaccountable, for that they observe no Rule; and hereupon it happened we were so long beating about the Cape, and had been much longer, had we not made for the Shore; which we did about the middle of *April*, when it is high Winter in these parts, wherin we tried all Weathers, the worst of which were Calms, according to our *English* saying,

Worse is a Winters Calm,
By far than Summers Storm.

Which we suffered till we got under the Shore, whence we were assisted with fine Briezes, we falling first in with Cape *d'Anguillis*¹ the low Land being bare and naked, the high Land, a Ridge of Mountains only gaping in one place, from which the *Portugals* gave it the name *Anguillis*, or the Snake: Fifteen Miles Northward of it lies the *Promontory* called *Cape Falso*,² which we weathered in the Morning, and afore Night did the like to the Cape of *Good Hope*, which in respect of the Heavenly Position is 34 Degrees and a half South Latitude, Longitude 47, in a strait Line from *Joanna* 1800 Leagues. The Marks of this *Promontory* are agreeable to *Sellier's* Atlas: It is inhabited by a Barbarous People called *Hottentots*: As Nature designed their Looks deformed, so they are untractable in Manners, and

¹ See vol. i, 54.

² "We knew the land, for it was a part or bank of the point called Cabo Falso, which is about fifteen miles on this side the Cape de Bona Speranza, towards Mossambique the Cape de Bona Speranza lieth under 34 [35] degrees southward" (Linschoten, i, 18).

harsh in their Voice; these wind the Guts of Beasts Excrements all about their Necks, both for Food and Ornament, consenting to what *Job Ludolphus*, Author of the *Ethiopick Lexicon*, relates of the *Abassinians*, under which Government (if any they have) this Region must be comprehended, who says, they prefer the Meat digested in the Maws of Beasts, before the best Sallads, supposing those Animals better at distinguishing the good Plants from bad, than Men. Here in *Soldania¹* Bay the Dutch have a strong Fort, for the same purpose we keep St. *Helena*, to refresh and water our Fleet on their return home; but these touch here both going and coming; whereas ours put in at *Joanna* in their Voyage to *India*: In these Seas are the Sea-Calves, and Sun-Fishes; the Nights are very cold, and the Days are shortned near Two hours.

The end of *April* we lost sight of the high Tops of these Hills, and in thirty and two Degrees *South*, met with the stated *South-east* Winds, when we left the Cape-Birds behind us, daily depressing our *Southern* Latitude, directing our Course full *North-west*, being too often retarded by frequent Calms, and sometimes contrary Winds, (a thing not known between the Tropicks) till at last we made seventeen Degrees *South*; when we altered our *North* Course to the *West* only, for fear of out-sailing St. *Helena*; which is a thing full of hazard and difficulty, since the Season proved Cloudy, though not Rainy, yet often so Dewy, that it wetted to the skin; the supputation of the Longitude on which we depend, being no less obscure than fallible: Besides, the Island its self is but a small Rock in the middle of the Main Ocean, which cannot be seen far, unless in a clear Day; but by the Grace of God, the 19th of *May* it lay fair before our eyes like a little Cloud by eight

¹ *Saldanha Bay*, the only anchorage which is naturally safe in all winds, on the west coast of Cape Colony.

in the Morning; from whence are small White Birds floating sometimes on the Sea, at other times taking their flight to and from the Island, which they stir not far from: It is very high Land, and may be discerned twenty Leagues off at Sea; wherefore we gained not the Harbour till Ten at Night, where we silently let go our Anchor, neither we nor the Fort saluting one another till next Morning.

When going ashore, the Guns roared, and the Governor Mr. *John Blackmore* received us on the Beech, which was stony and troublesome ascending; we passed through Rows of Soldiers, called to their Arms on this occasion, into a Valley surrounded with high Mountains, except towards the Sea, where stood the Fort and Platform for the great Cannon, which reach farther than there is any Anchor-hold, so that no Ships can come in, or endure their Force, without their Leave.

Notwithstanding which, it is yet fresh in memory, that the *Dutch*¹ landing on the backside of the Island, gained the Tops of the Hills, and invading the Island, drove the *English* from their Fort, for all they had two Ships in the Road at the same time, which did no farther service than carry off the Inhabitants, leaving the *Dutch* in Possession, till Captain *Munday* by the King's Command was sent out to retake it that very Year we came out for *India* (which was the very Fleet that set out with us, and bore us company to St. *Iago*); which the said Captain retook also by Surprize; and added to his good fortune the seizing of Four of their *East-India* Ships richly laden; which, after he had left sufficient Strength upon the Island, he brought as Trophies of his Victory into *England*.

The Island thus reduced, was governed immediately by the Royal Commission, till at the Importunity of the Company, his Majesty reinstated the former Colony planted by

¹ See vol. i, 31.

the Honourable Company, and restored them to their first Possessions, advising them to be more cautious for the future. It is seated in Sixteen Degrees *South*¹ in the vast *Atlantick Ocean*, distant from Cape *Bon Esperanco* Six hundred Leagues; placed opportunely for the *English* in their return to *Europe* from the *East Indies*, both for Wood, Water, and fresh Provisions; which are comfortable Refreshments these long Voyages; those Ships that miss it being in an ill state, ready to be eaten up with the Scurvy, and most an end make for *Barbados* in their distress; which makes the Company to be at some expence for this benefit, supplying them with *English* Beeves, Cows, Hogs, Turkies, Ducks, Geese, and all manner of Pullen, with Tools for Husbandry, and a constant Guard of Soldiers. The *Portugals*² first found it out, as is said, by an unhappy Accident; one of their great Carracks being cast away here, or not able to proceed farther, they drew on shore her weather-beaten sides, and all the Armory and Tacklin, Building with the Timber a Chappel in this Valley, from thence called *Chappel-Valley*, and stocked it with Goats, Asses, Hogs, and other Cattel, lest any other time they should be under the same misfortune; but as their Credit fell in these parts, they grew more careless of Futurity, and long since deserted it, that it became free to the next comer to make his own; and now by the Industry of the *English* it is much improved, yielding, partly by the goodness of the Soil, and the care of the Husbandmen, all things necessary for human subsistence to its own Inhabitants, and to spare, good Cheap to such as need.

Yet to whet their Diligence and Labour, here is a mischievous Virmin sorely vexatious to them, which are Wild

¹ Fryer is right in his calculation, the exact latitude being $15^{\circ} 55' 26''$.

² It was discovered by the Portuguese navigator, João da Nova, on 21 May 1501.

Rats,¹ which infest all their Grounds, whereby they can have no Bread-Corn, they destroying it all; instead whereof they have a large Root, very biting when it is Raw, so that they will not touch it, but being Boiled, it is both nourishing and pleasing; and of this they make an intoxicating Liquor, called *Mobby*;² the *Indian Name* of this Root is *Yaum*.³

It is very troublesome clambering these Hills; yet to acquaint my self with the Country delights, I assayed it; at top it is something evener, where were many Rural Seats of the Planters, Cows grazing, Goats feeding; their Cottages placed near Rivulets, whose next Downfall hurried them into the Sea; from these advanced places we discovered Two Sail making in hither, which is noticed by the Firing of so many Guns and hoisting of the Flag, who proved to be the *Josiah*, being an heavy Sailer, we lost Company about the *Cape*, where keeping off at Sea, the *Golden Fleece* came up with it; upon the Hills the Air makes a great difference from the Vallies, it being purer above, and something harsh by reason of the constant *Easterly Blasts*, which is not so kind to the Fruits on the Mountains as in the Dales.

The course taken to People the Island is this; they indent either as Servants or Soldiers for Five Years with the Company, at the expiration of which Term, they are free either to go or stay; if they stay, they have liberty to chuse Twenty Acres of Ground unoccupied, as their own proper Portion, on which they live and maintain themselves and Families; of which Islanders there may be Four hundred *English*, reckoning Men, Women, and Children.

A Week being spent, the *Success* and we (coming in first)

¹ Rats are still "especially abundant and building their nests in the highest trees" (*Env. Brit.*¹, xxiv, 7).

² Mobbie, Mobee, Carib *mabi*, a drink made of the batata or sweet potato (*New Eng. Dict.*, s.v.).

³ See vol. i, 263.

set Sail for *Ascension*, another meer Wart in the Sea, being a Barren Rock destitute of all manner of Natures Stores, it being an horrid place, without any green thing, Plant, or Water, a meer Cinder-cake burnt by the Sun, and incrusted by the filth and slime of the Sea-Fowl, who both Nest and Roost here: Here is no covering or shade from the Heavens, more than the Holes or Tops of Rocks, no Turf nor Grass, but all is scorched by the Sun's heat; and here I approve, rather than consent to the general Opinion, of its having been once a *Vulcano*, or Island of Fire;¹ but since no such matters appear for such a subject, I shall deem it Fabulous, since it would be altogether strange, had it e'er been so, that no Footsteps of Bitumen, Sulphur, or Combustible substance should remain, which most an end flow from an unexhausted Fountain, bred as fast as the Fire can feed upon it; otherwise those ancient Fiery Mountains in *Italy*, and elsewhere, had many Ages since been consumed; and we might have admired them as Poets Fictions handed by Tradition, but not have had ocular Demonstration to convince the incredulous: Besides, the continual confluence of Flocks of Water-Fowl declare they never feared Smoak or Fire here; they having paved or pargetted the whole Rock with their Filth, that it seems incorporated with it.²

These Birds are so heedless or fool-hardy, which I can-

¹ Ascension "is one of the peaks of a submarine ridge which separates the northern and southern basins of the Atlantic. The whole character of the island is volcanic . . . all over the island are found the usual products of volcanic action" (*Env. Brit.*?, ii, 676; 11th ed. ii, 716).

² ". . . but in it there are no beastes at all, onely by reason of the great quantitie of Fishes ther are so many Birds in it yt it is strange, and they are of the bignesse of young geese, & came by thousands flying about our ships, crying and making great noyse, and ranne up and down in the shippe, some leaping and sitting on our shoulders and armes, not once fearing us, so that we took many of them, and wrung of their neckes, but they are not good to eat, because they taste morish [strong-tasted]" (Linschoten, ii, 261).

not tell, that they will fly so near as to be struck down with a Cane.

When I went to Land (if such it may be called) bating the Sands around the Rocks, we could tread no other Ground but on Stones cemented by the Sun's heat; all the advantage or pleasure proposed was to stretch our Legs, and see the Seamen turn the Turtles, or Tortoises, which they did anights when they came ashore to lay their Eggs, which these Sands hatch, they lying in ambush betwixt them and the Sea, and with Hand-spikes casting them on their Back; at which they must be yare; for they perceiving themselves pursued, make towards the Sea, and cast a cloud of Sand upon the Assailants with their Feet or Claws; they are very big, and sometimes as much as Three or Four Men can do to lay them sprawling, where as fast as one is conquered they leave it to master more; for they cannot rescue themselves out of that posture; so that what they serve thus in the Night they are sure to find them in the Day where they left them, and so bring them aboard Ship for their fresh Food, the Flesh of some being as much as our little *Indian* Bullocks.¹

Of these (we gathering for the Four Ships that were behind) to lose no time, they turned One hundred and twenty, whereof Eight and twenty came to our share; which (without any other subsistence than three or four times a day throwing Sea-water on them), we kept alive above a Month, on which the Ship's-Crew fed daily with great eagerness while they lasted, dressing their Flesh several ways; and besides that, these are reckoned the best in the World, and to which they fall the more greedily, because they are esteemed specifical for the Scurvy, Pox, or Gout, they fancying their whole Mass of Blood to be altered by them, and

¹ "Ascension has long been noted for the abundance of turtle and turtle eggs found on its shores, the season lasting from December to May or June" (*Ency. Brit.*, ii, 676; 11th ed., ii, 716).

their Flesh to become new and sound again; and this Opinion takes the rather, because through all the Emunctuaries, and especially near the Genitals, they see the colour of their Sweat altered to a nasty yellow Green: And indeed to speak the truth, whether Fancy or real virtue in this sort of Dyet be the cause, they continue healthy and lively while they feed thereon, and will mightily lament the want of it when spent, because they must return again to their salt Meats.

In catching of these we tarried five Days, in which I had time enough to recollect my Thoughts about these Creatures; but having already been particular thereon, I shall forbear to add more: Only the Custom of this place is to leave Letters of what Ships have been here, in a great Hollow of a Rock, sealed in a Glass Bottle; and where the *Portugals* have erected a Wooden Cross to affix Leaden or Brass Plates Engraven: An Example whereof may be this:

Anno Domini 1671. Martij 14.

*In Nave Aurenum Vellus dicta, Joanne North Navarchi,
huc appulerunt Edmundus Hallay & Jacobus Clerk,
ab Insula Sanctae Helenae reduces; ubi Observationibus
caelestibus Annum integrum impenderunt.*

Ascension lies under the Seventh Degree of South Latitude, 250 Leagues from St. *Hclens*, which we made in a Weeks time from thence with a North-West Course; here is little Meridional distance East from *England*, not much more than two Degrees; but now we must go more Westward to meet with the Winds, and this is just as the Sun is upon his Summers Solstice in our Countries, but here quite contrary.

In the middle of *June* we came under the Arch of the *Aequator*, where lies St. *Thomas* Island, and elevating the

Arctick Pole six Degrees, we met with Storms and some Calms; this then was the reason we moved but slowly, till the Sun began to be vertical, it bringing those Winds with it, which were for our turn; to wit, the North-East Winds; which was the Twelfth of *July* before we had it the last time, perpendicular in Twenty Degrees North, and an half, the next day, made us parallel with *Surat*; insomuch that all this while we seem to have done nothing, being no farther, bating our Western way, than where we set out; which would be evident, could we have passage through the Red-Sea into the Mediterranean; but Nature having opposed a small Neck of Land of Sixty Miles, has thought fitter to let the unquiet Ramblers go about these vast Coasts, than to cut them out a nigher Way to so long undiscovered Regions.

The Sixteenth we passed the Northern Tropick into the Temperate *Zone*, where take an account of a desperate Action. In the *Josiah* an English Scaman held in Captivity by the *Algereens*, had so perfected himself in that durance in the Art of Thieving, that nothing could escape him; in which being often Apprehended, and as often Bound with Chains and Ropes, they were all too little to hold him fast; for he could untie the hardest Knot with his Toes as well as Fingers, and was expert at filing or eating off his Irons: But continuing in these Pranks nothing could be safe from him, even the Ships-stores were imbezelled by him, which touched the Lives of all in the Ship, he having several times broken open the *Lazeretto*, from which no Correction could deter him; at last assured by a general Consult, some punishment was devising for him, he unmanacled himself, and came before them as they were thinking what to do with him, and bidding them Adieu, leapt into the Sea, at once putting an end to their Consult, and his Fear and Fury.

In Thirty Degrees North, we met with *Algæ* or Sea

Weed,¹ supposed to be brought hither by the rapid Course of the Gulf of *Florida*, which notwithstanding is a great way to the West off us.

The North-East Winds have been very faint hitherto, whereby we were hindred from meeting with the South West Winds sooner; but between 30 and 40 North they enter to purpose; that in the beginning of *August* we left the Western Islands, which are called *Flandriac*, or the *Asores*,² which lie between the Isles of *Corvo* and *Flores*; where many place the first Meridian, because here is found in these Seas and the parts adjacent, that the *Magnétique* Needle has no declination from the Meridian Line, and that it points out North and South exactly; which beginning of Longitude, *Mercator* observes in his Tables.

And now we set our Face directly for *England*, knowing by our Account we are past these Spots of Earth, which those returning from *India* think themselves obliged to be secure of, before they do; we having depressed our Longitude West, from *Ascension* Eighteen Degrees take a North-East Course, and being past forty Degrees North, we take our Fortune both for Wind and Weather, sometimes fair, sometimes foul, sometimes for us, sometimes against us, till having our Latitude almost compleat, we again raised our

¹ "On the 25th [of December] we began to see floating on the sea some *gøymon*, or green moss, which the Portuguese call *sargasso*. This herb grows at the bottom of the sea, and is a sign continually seen in those parts: the whole ocean is covered with it, and is as green as a meadow. It begins at the 21st degree, and extends to the 30th" (Pyrard de Laval, ii, 331). "The Portingalles call it Sargasso, because it is like the herbes that grow in their welles in Portugal, called Sargasso" (Linschoten, ii, 262). For the Sargasso Sea (Mar de Sargaço) see *Ency. Brit.*, xxiv, 219.

² Las ilhas dos Açores, the "Kite islands." In 1466 the islands were presented by Alphonso V to his aunt, Isabella, the Duchess of Burgundy, and the influx of Flemish settlers which followed caused them to be called the Flanders or Flemish Islands. "They are also called the Flemish Islands, that is of the Neatherlanders, because the first that inhabited the same were Neatherlanders, whereof till this time there is a great number and offspring remaining" (Linschoten, ii, 276).

Longitude within a Degree and half of that of *Ascension*, which brought us the Fourteenth of *August* in sight of our *Albien*.

When entring the Channel, the Pilots were more concerned than all the Voyage afore: As we came up we daily met with Ships outward bound, and others overtook us coming in, and the Companies Waiters Boarding us, every one was as cautious to own his Estate, as a Miser to confess on a Poll Act. With these Caterpillars we sailed till we came on the *Sussex Coast*, when longing to be on Shore, we hailed a Fisher-Boat on Board, who put me on Shore at *Folkstone* in *Kent*, Five Miles South of *Dover*, on the Twentieth of *August*, 1682.

From whence sending you this, give me leave to come leisurely to *London*, that in that time I may feel my Legs, and try how agreeable the natural Sweets of *England* by degrees may be to one who in this long Absence has so little felt the Hardships of Travel, especially coming home; which though a tedious Voyage of Seven Months, we passed away merrily with good Wine, and no bad Musick; but the Life of all, good Company and an honest Commander; who fed us with fresh Provisions of Turkies, Geese, Ducks, Hens, sucking Pigs, Sheep, Goats, &c. And to Crown all, the Day we made *England*, kill'd us a fatted Calf; so that you may spare that Welcome when you receive,

Yours,
J. F.

Soli DEO Gloria. Amen.

FINIS

ADDITIONAL NOTES

VOL. I

- Pages 38, note 4; 46, n. 1. *For "San Thiago" read "São Thiago."*
- P. 49, n. 2. *For "Saõ" read "São."*
- P. 51, n. 1. *For "Buena Esperanza" read "Boa Esperança."*
- P. 71, n. 4. Galle was captured by the Dutch on 13 March 1640.
- P. 78, l. 4. The original punctuation should be thus corrected: "The next Morning the Second of the Factory (the chief being at *Fort St. George*) visited the Admiral."
- P. 82, ll. 10 ff. For the insolence of the Kammālan or artisans of the Left Hand section, see E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, iii, 117 ff.
n. 2. *For "Hatālkhor" read "Halālkhor."*
- P. 89, n. i. At a Brāhmaṇ marriage in Travancore Ammānayātam, tossing and catching polished metal balls, is one of the favourite amusements (N. S. Aiyar, *Census Report, Travancore*, 1901, i, 261). One of the favourite feats of the Vipravinodi, or wandering acrobats, is throwing stone or wooden balls into the air, and catching them, or rolling them over various parts of their bodies (Thurston, *op. cit.*, vii, 406).
- P. 96, l. 14. "There is yet another hill in the Countrie of Decam, which is called Velha, that is the old Rocke: from thence come the best Diamonds" (Linschoten, ii, 137).
- P. 102, l. 19. Mr. Irvine writes: "'The Brittoon' must be 'The Breton,' a King's vessel of 800 tons, 48 cannon, which joined De la Haye at Goa in January, 1672."
- P. 105. On the foundation of Fort St. George, see W. Foster, "The Founding of Fort St. George," London, 1902, and Mrs. F. E. F. Penny, "Fort St. George, Madras," 1900.

- P. 106, l. 9. *For "Gandorc" read "Gundore."*
- P. 108, last line of text. *Haec non defletimus, ne et opera et oleum philologiae nostrae pericrit.* Cicero. *Ep. ad Atticum*, ii, 17.
- P. 112, l. 20. For these French operations, Mr. Irvine refers to De la Haye's own book, "Journal de Voyage des Grandes Indes," 1697. There is also a detailed day-by-day account of the siege of San Thomé in F. Martin's MS. *Mémoires, Archives Nationales*, 1169. In note 2, *read for "Delestre" "de L'Estra."*
- P. 115, n. 1. *For "breakwater" read "Lagoon." Imperial Gazetteer*, xv, 242.
- P. 121, n. 3. *Read "Ryclof van Goens, the Dutch Admiral."*
- P. 122, l. 6. In Fryer's version *read "consili" for "concili."* Horace, *Odes*, iii, iv, 65.
- P. 123, n. 4, l. 3. *For "1660" read "1658."*
- P. 129, n. 3. Mr. D. Ferguson disputed the correctness of the derivation of *Manār*, which is that suggested in Madras *Manual of Administration*, iii, 527.
- P. 131, l. 19. Plautus (*Rud.* iv, 3, 5) calls fish *squamosum pecus*.
- P. 131, n. 2. For the abundance of the Indian pilchard or "Sardine" on the South Indian coasts, see *Bulletin Madras Museum*, iii, 147, 167.
- P. 134, n. 1, l. 4. *For "de" read "da."*
- P. 147, n. 2. *For "Electarria" read "Elettaria."*
- P. 151, n. 3. According to Mr. W. Foster, "scarlet-cloath" is "English broadcloth."
- P. 155, paragraph 2. This date is corroborated by *F. R., Bombay*, vol. i: "The Co.'s Fleet in sight of the Castle, 6 December. 1673."
- P. 157, paragraph 1. From *F. R., Bombay*, vol. i, 86, 91, it appears that the "Falcon" was ordered to sail for Surat as soon as possible after 9-16 September 1674: and from *F. R., Surat*, vol. iii, 86, 91, the ship arrived on 27 September 1674; see i, 210, *infra*.
- P. 158, n. 1. The question of "Munchumbay" is again raised in a letter which Mr. Oliver Strachey has kindly addressed to the Editor. He writes: "Fryer first says that it is one the 'islands of Salsette,' with Bombaim, Canorein, Trumbay, Elephanto, the Putachoes and Kerenjau. He next mentions it as making up with Bombaim, Canorein, and Trumbay the north

side of the harbour. In Fryer's time Bombay Island was of course seven islets, but they were grouped together under two names—Bombay and Mahim. Mahim comprised Mahim, Sion, Parel, Sewri, and Worli, while Bombay was the rest of the island—Mazagong, Bombay proper, and Old Woman's Island. So that when Fryer mentions Bombaim, it is quite likely he does not necessarily include Mahim. If this be granted, then a glance at the map will show that his geography is perfectly correct if Munchumbay means Mahim—not the small island of Mahim (so to speak), but including Sion and Sewri. In his first list Fryer is not giving the seven islands of Bombay, but of Salsette, and his list is a good one, and need puzzle no one (if Munchumbay is Mahim). So also his second list does give ten islands which make up the north of the Bay. His map, of course, is another matter—but that is not here in question. The question now is: Can Munchumbay really mean Mahim etymologically? I suggest that it is a corruption of *Mahim-chebhat*, or Mahim district. *Bhat* means, according to Edwardes, 'landed estate,' and one commonly used for districts in Bombay. The only difficulty is that in a letter written by Deputy Governor Ward in 1683 there is mention of a place called 'Munchum,' but this is not necessarily Fryer's 'Munchumbay.'

P. 161, l. 6. Vasco da Gama reached Calicut on 20 May 1498.
*Ency. Brit.*¹¹, xi, 433.

P. 169, l. 5. For "Bombiam" read "Bombaim."

P. 170, n. 1. For "Rickloffe van Goen" read "Rycklof van Goens."

P. 172, n. 2. The "window oyster" is very plentiful in Karāchi Harbour, and in the creeks to the east, lying flat on the bottom in shallow water. It is still used for windows in Goa. E. H. Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*. Karachi, 1907, p. 70.

P. 172, n. 3. For "Tablegam" read "Tamblegam."

P. 176, n. 5. Mr. Oliver Strachey points out that Old Woman's Island was the whole of Kolāba, not merely Lower Kolāba. This is evident from this very passage, for no one would call Lower Kolāba "a great Point." It is curious that Sir J. Campbell made this mistake, for repeated quotations in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. xxvi) prove the point; e.g., the lighthouse was built on Old Woman's Island.

- P. 179, l. 7. Barbiers, a kind of paralysis: see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 67 f.
- P. 183, l. 7. Mr. Longworth Dames points out that the Jesuits were known as Paulistas, not Paulistines, as Fryer puts it (*Man*, xiii (1913), p. 76).
- P. 190 f., n. 6. *For "1692" read "1672."*
- P. 194, n. 3. *For "Coutto" read "Couto."*
- P. 197, n. 3. Add: In Sind the Nāralī Purnima, full moon day of Sāwan, falling in August, closes the monsoon theoretically, and mariners offer coco-nuts to the sea, and launch their boats for the season (E. H. Aitken, *Gazetteer of Sind*, vol. A. p. 206). The feast is described by Mrs. Colonel Elwood, *Narrative of a Journey Overland from England by the Continent of Europe, Egypt, and the Red Sea, to India; including a Residence there and Voyage Home, in the years 1825, 26, 27, and 28, 1830*, vol. i, p. 420.
- P. 198, l. 4. According to *F. R. Bombay*, vol. i, the members of the Embassy started on 4th, 8th, 9th, and 15th May, 1674.
- P. 199, n. 6. The identity of these two men named Nārāyan Shenvī is, according to Mr. W. Foster, very doubtful.
- P. 206, n. 1. The custom of weighing against gold a person attacked by infectious disease prevails among the Nayars (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, v. 404).
- Page 211, l. 4. Mr. Oliver Strachey points out that Matthew Gray was left at Surat to act for Aungier as Deputy-President for the two years while the latter was living in Bombay. Fryer's "Deputy President" is quite correct, and has nothing to do with Gray's having previously been Deputy-Governor of Bombay.
- P. 224, n. 2. Bloody Point was the scene of a fight between the English and the Portuguese in 1630: see W. Foster, *English Factories in 1630-3*.
- P. 225, n. 1. The date for the foundation of the French factory at Surat is too early. Mr. Irvine disputes the assertion that it was founded by Admiral Beaulieu, who does not appear to have been in Surat in 1620. It was really founded by the Directors of Colbert's Company, who arrived in Surat on 13 February 1668, N.S.
- P. 230, n. 6. *For "indica" read "sativa."*
- P. 252, n. 3. For a genealogy of the Shirley family see 9th

Series, *Notes and Queries*, ix, 50, and Mr. Foster's *Factory Records*, 1624-9.

- P. 253, n. 1. Mr. Foster believes that Coryatt was buried at Surat, not Swally.
- P. 266, n. 1. "There is a third kind [of poppy], again, called 'tithymalon': some persons give it the name of 'mecon,' others that of 'paralion.' It has a white leaf, resembling that of flax, and a head the size of a bean. It is gathered when the vine is in blossom, and dried in the shade. The seed, taken in drink, purges the bowels" (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xx, 80, probably *Euphorbia paralias*, Linn.).
- P. 267, l. 9. *Scutica dignus*. Horacc, *Sat.*, i, iii, 119.
- P. 283, l. 2. *Regis ad exemplum*. Professor Bensly has traced this quotation in Claudian. *Panegryricus de quarto consolatu Honorii Augusti*, 300.
- P. 287, n. 1. For Lemnian earth see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv, 14.
- P. 290, l. 3 ff. *Quod reges*. Professor Bensly had traced these lines in Petrus Angelius, *Cynegitica*, lib. ii, 288-291; for "liquantia" read "liquentia."
- P. 292, l. 13. The arrival of the Dutch fleet and the release of the prisoners occurred on 30 March 1674 (*F. R. Surat*, vol. iii, 13, 16, 19).
- Note 2. Mr. D. Ferguson states that the custom of charming sharks in Ceylon is now discontinued.
- P. 296, last line. Mr. D. Ferguson states that the initials *N. G.* refer to Nehemiah Grew's list published in 1681. His life is to be found in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.v.
- P. 299, n. 2. *Del.* "at Patna."
- P. 303 l. 11. *F. R. Bombay*, ii, 51, records on 9 April 1675: "Foure of the Gentlemen of the Co. of Surat are here."
- P. 303, notes 3 and 4. Mr. Oliver Strachey writes: "Fryer's text is strictly accurate. Gyfford was twice Deputy-Governor of Bombay—first, from 1671 to 1672. He was succeeded by Captain Shaxton, who was suspended and put under arrest by Aungier in 1674. Gyfford was re-instated in April 1675, as Fryer states. John Child (later Sir John) married Shaxton's daughter, and when Shaxton was sent home, still under arrest, his wife, 'Madam Shaxton,' remained in India with the Childs. As regards the connection between Philip and William Gyfford,

- the former always spells his name ‘Gyffard,’ the latter ‘Gyfford’; but perhaps this proves nothing.”
- P. 304, l. 1. The accusation and trial of Captain Shaxton are recorded in *F. R. Bombay*, vol. i, under the dates 30 October, 6 and 11 November, 1674.
- P. 307, l. 15. According to *F. R. Bombay*, on 23 April 1675, Fryer was ordered to start for Jeneah.
- P. 323, l. 24. Professor Bensley writes: “This passage occurs near the close of *Epist. i* of the *Legatio Turcica*, p. 98, l. 17, of his 1660 ed. (Amsterdam, Elzevir) of Busbequius’s *Omnia quae extant*. The words are “Se debat ipse in solio per quam humili . . . erat illud instratum pretiosissimâ plurimâque veste stragula . . . Juxta erant arcus & sagittae.”
- P. 324, l. 8. *Totis haerentia fastis*, Ovid, *Fasti*. i, 61.
- P. 331, n. 3. Prince Khurram (Sháhjahán) lived in seclusion at Junnar in his last years of Jahāngīr (1622-7), and started thence to secure the throne. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, i, 176. In the last line of the note, for “48” read “28.”
- P. 334, n. 1. Mr. W. Foster suggests that Nizām Beg was brother of the Governor.
- P. 335, n. 1. Steingass, *Persian Dict.*, 1152, gives “*Matārah*,” a flexible leathern drinking bottle or cup, used by travellers.”
- P. 341, l. 8 f. The quotation should read: *Lecticam, sellamve separar? nec ferre recusas: Per medium pugnas et prior ire lutum.* Martial, *Epig.*, x, 10, 8-9.
- P. 350, n. 2. Professor Bensly notes that Strabo (iii, p. 155, ed. Casaubon) refers this custom to the Lusitanians, and says that it was like that of the Egyptians. Aubanus Bohemus (*Omnium Gentium Mores*, lib. iii, cap. 25) and Sardus (*De Moribus ac Ritibus Gentium*, lib. i, cap. 23), the authorities quoted by Robert Burton, copy Strabo’s statement about the Lusitanians.
- P. 353, l. 1. According to *F. R. Bombay*, vol. ii, O.C. 4118, the “Golden Fleece” and “Rainbow” were forced to put into Bombay.

VOL. II

P. 2, l. 7. Mr. Oliver Strachey writes: "The Chief of Carwar, whom Fryer went to visit, and who was so hospitable, was no other than Henry Oxinden. The two must have struck up a friendship."

P. 2, n. 3. Mr. W. Foster, with much probability, suggests that by "Serapatan" Fryer means Khārepatan or Vijaydrug. In his map he calls it "Scrapatan or Carapetan." "By the early Europeans Vijaydurg, called Khārepatan, from the town of that name twenty-five miles from its mouth, was thought one of the best of the Konkan ports" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, x, 379, n. 2). Fryer seems here to confuse Danda Rājpur with Rājapur.

P. 3, n. 2. Mr. J. S. Cotton writes: "*Cuiteen* is undoubtedly Courteen, though he was no Cornishman, but a Fleming." Mr. W. Foster adds that Fryer refers to Sir W. Courteen's son and successor, who was commonly called "The Esquire," to distinguish him from his father. Kārwār factory was established after the death of Sir W. Courteen.

P. 4, n. 2. Mr. J. S. Cotton remarks that the *Sūbahdār* is probably here a military, not a civil officer.

P. 6, n. 1. Mr. J. S. Cotton writes: "I take the *Dekvi* here to be the same person as on p. 31, and also 'the General and Protector' on p. 42."

P. 9, n. 2. Mr. J. S. Cotton points out that the *New Eng. Dict.* gives "Con, Conn, the action or post of conning a ship, the steerage," quoting W. H. Smyth, "The Sailor's Word-Book" (*s.v.* Conn), Con, or Cun, as pronounced by seamen.

P. 12, n. 2. Mr. J. S. Cotton writes: "There was an exposition of the body of St. Francis Xavier when I was at Bombay during the winter of 1910-11, accompanied by an exodus of cooks"; and see *Man*, xiii (1913), p. 76.

P. 12, l. 23. Mr. Longworth Dames gives the correct form of the quotation: *Pelo amor de frescura*, "for the love of coolness" (*Ibid.*, p. 76).

P. 13, n. 1. Mr. Longworth Dames corrects Mr. Ferguson's reading of the couplet:

O Francisco guarde minha mulher;
O Paulista guarde men dinheiro.

i.e. "Let the Franciscan look after my wife, the Jesuit after my money" (*Man*, xiii (1913), p. 76).

P. 14, l. 27 f. The quotation runs in the original:

innuptaeque aemula Phoebes
Vittu coerced positos sine lege capillos.

P. 27, l. 1. Mr. Longworth Dames remarks: "The name Canorein, which Fryer states is the name of the mass of the people is the word still used in Portugal (Canarim) much as we use Eurasian. I have heard the saying in Portugal: 'There never was yet a Canarim who was not a descendant of Albuquerque!' He suggests that this word gives the origin of the Anglo-Indian word Cranny, Karāni, not Sanskrit Karana, as given by Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*, 273; *Man*, xiii (1913), p. 77).

P. 30, n. 1, l. 4. For "unsuccessfully" read "successfully."

P. 34, l. 1. Correct Fryer's accentuation to πλεῖστοι βροτοί.

P. 35, l. 22. For "fastened" read "fastned."

P. 36, l. 21. "The Naik Wherry" has not been identified. Mr. W. Foster suggests a misprint in the original text.

P. 38, n. 4. In temples in Baroda dedicated to Siva or Mātā, the Mother Goddess, Brahmachāris or celibates put on their heads a red fisher-like cap (*Baroda Census Report*, 1911, vol. i, p. 87). In Madras, among the Holcya caste, the bridegroom wears a red cap (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii, 347).

P. 39, l. 19 ff. The quotation, *Roma, Lutetiae ac Venetiae, nemo quidquam miratur*, has been found by Professor Bensly in Erasmus, *Colloquia*, two-fifths through that entitled *Diversoria*, which Charles Reade used with such realistic effect in *The Cloister and the Hearth*.

P. 40, n. 1. The identification is incorrect. As Mr. J. S. Cotton points out, the Ranna is not the Rānā or prince, but the Rānī, a princess mentioned on p. 41, who is rightly identified in n. 1, p. 42.

P. 50, n. 1. Mr. J. S. Cotton remarks that Malik Ambar was an Abyssinian, and never claimed to belong to the Nizāmshāhī line. For his history see *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii, 390 f., 423 f.

P. 56, n. 3. The note is incorrect. Samba Gi Raja was son of Shāhji by his wife Jiji Bāī. The elder son was Sambhaji, who was his father's favourite, and accompanied him from early infancy. The younger son was Sivaji (J. Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, 3rd ed., p. 55).

P. 83, n. 1. Mr. Oliver Strachey writes: “‘The Phoenix’ Ketch was one of the Company’s boats, frequently mentioned in the Records, and had no connection with H.M.S. ‘Phoenix,’ which was not out in 1684 to put out Keigwin’s rebellion, but arrived too late even for the shouting.”

P. 87, n. 1. Mr. Oliver Strachey writes: “Henry Oxinden did not succeed Gyfford. John Petit (the same with whom Fryer later travelled to Persia) was made Deputy Governor on Gyfford’s death. I am afraid there has been some mistake about the transcription of *O.C.* 4258, which you quote. This letter (*O.C.* 4258), does give the date of Gyfford’s death as you say, but so far from saying anything about Oxinden succeeding him, Aungier says in it that John Petit has been confirmed as Deputy Governor. Oxinden was sent for from Carwar to take his place on the Surat Council. This accounts for the difficulty noticed in your Introduction, that Oxinden left Carwar before Gyfford died. Fryer’s mistake is curious; possibly this was an addition from memory, put in when getting his letters ready for publication, or possibly Oxinden may have been expecting to succeed Gyfford, as there was a dispute between him and Petit about seniority, which the Court decided later in Petit’s favour. Henry Oxinden succeeded John Petit as Deputy Governor of Bombay on Aungier’s death, when Rolt became President, and Petit succeeded Rolt in Persia.”

P. 96, l. 13. This should probably read *India, cui effodiuntur opes*. The original has not been traced.

P. 96, l. 17. Mr. J. S. Cotton suggests that Grose’s animal must be one of the Gibbons (*Hylobates*). “. . . the arms being so much longer than the legs that the hands reach the ground when these animals stand upright on their feet—a position which is assumed habitually by this genus, and by this alone, amongst the Simiidæ, when walking” (Blanford, *Mammalia*, 5). The Loris found in W. India is the Slender Loris (*Ibid.*, 47). The Sanskrit name, *vana-mānusha*, and the Kanarese *adavi-mānushyā* describe it as “a man of the woods.”

P. 97, n. 3. *For "muscus" read "moschus."*

P. 98, n. 2. Speaking of the jackal, a mythical animal, known as "the lion's provider," Blanford (*Mammalia*, 142), says that it is known as *Bhālu* or *Kol Bhālu* in S. and W. India, and is said to invariably precede the tiger, and to make a peculiar call.

P. 116, l. 11. Most an end: the *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *end*, gives: "Most end, also most an end [? corruption of *mosten ende*, O.E. *mostan ende*, used adverbially = "for the most part, almost entirely, especially."]

P. 125, n. 5. According to a common story the *Mahmūdī* took its name from Mahmūd, King of Ahmadnagar.

P. 130, n. 8. Mr. W. Foster suggests that *almooda*, is Port. *almude*, "a measure by which the Portuguese sell their wine, etc. Twenty-six almudes make a pipe" (Vieyra, *Dict. Port. Eng.*, 1783, s.v.).

P. 150, l. 12. *For "has" read "was."*

P. 160, n. 2. Mr. W. Foster writes: "For the period I have been working over, the *tūmān* always equalled £3 6s. 8d., the value given by Fryer."

P. 184, l. 4. *Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis*, Virgil, *Aen.*, vi, 127.

P. 222, ll. 28, 29. Professor Bensley gives the original:

*nec minus arboribus succi genitabilis humor
sufficitur, cedro libanum frondente coronas,
alitibus nidos: abies tibi consita surgit,
nutrit ubi implumes peregrina ciconia foctus.*

George Buchanan, *Paraphrasis in Librum
Psalmorum*, civ, 16, 17.

P. 234, l. 3. "The Persians call themselves *Irāni* and their land *Irān*, and of this land *Pārsa*, the Persis of the Greeks, the modern Fārs, is one province out of several. . . . To call the province of Fārs 'Fārsistán,' as is sometimes done by European writers, is quite incorrect, for the termination *-istán* ('place of,' 'land of'), is added to the name of a people to denote the country which they inhabit (e.g. Afghánistán, Balúchistán), but not to the name of a country or province" (E. G. Browne,

A Literary History of Persia from the Earliest Times until Firdawsi, 1902, p. 4).

P. 253, n. 1. *Gabar, gabr*, is probably a form of *Kāfir*, "an unbeliever" (J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vi, 1913, p. 147).

P. 371, l. 10. Mr. J. S. Cotton remarks that Fryer's use of "Belgians" for Dutch is a characteristic example of his grandiloquence, and deserves a note, particularly as this usage is not recorded in the *New Eng. Dict.*

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A TABLE
OF SOME PRINCIPAL THINGS HEREIN CONTAINED,
NEITHER REDUCIBLE TO THE INDEX EXPLANATORY,
NOR THE CONTENTS.

A.	
<i>A BASSIVES,</i>	
ii, 190, 271; iii, 180	
<i>Abdul Caun</i> outwitted by <i>Sera Gi</i> ,	ii, 61 f.
Absolute Authority circumscribed by no Sanction,	ii, 216
Adventures of the <i>Portugals</i> taught us to bring the <i>Easteru Commodities</i> home by Sea,	i, 142
<i>Egyptians</i> given to Hieroglyphicks, expressing the Year by the Palni-trec,	ii, 182
Affronts not pardoned,	ii, 26
Agent of <i>Persia</i> , his Character and Emolument,	ii, 161 f.
He waits to appear before the <i>Sufee</i> ,	ii, 351
Agility of the <i>Indian Women</i> ,	i, 89
Air and Climate what Influence,	iii, 36
Air the chiefest Commodity in hot Countries,	ii, 160
Air that is thick tarnishes; a thin Air breeds no Soil,	ii, 334.
Open Air not so healthy for Men as Beasts,	ii, 185
Air infectious at <i>Gombroon</i> ,	ii, 174 f.
<i>Alah Abdul Caun</i> bruited to be begotten by an Elephant-keeper,	ii, 55
<i>Alcoran</i> , a Legend of Lies,	iii, 38
<i>Alexander</i> in all probability had been stopt in his Career of Victory, had not a <i>Persian Rustick</i> discovered to him the <i>Pyle Persiae</i> ,	ii, 227
<i>Alexander's Army</i> followed the Course of <i>Indus</i> ,	i, 188
<i>Alexander</i> , whether he ever conquered <i>Poros</i> ,	ii, 89 f.
<i>Alligators</i> Amphibious Crcatures,	i, 297
Almond-Tree Wands worn by the best men in <i>Persia</i> ,	ii, 202
Alteration of Humours betwen <i>Indian</i> and <i>Persian</i> ,	ii, 159
Ambition knows no mean,	ii, 54
<i>Amphisbena</i> , &c. Serpents observe Musick,	i, 98
Ants and <i>Muscetoes</i> how reme-died,	i, 100
Antilopes taken only by a Decoy,	i, 120. Hunted by Leopards,
	i, 279 f.
Guardian Angels saluted,	i, 236
Ancestry of <i>Portugals</i> com-mcnded,	ii, 19

- Animals not void of Reason, i, 196
- Antiquaries esteem things moth-eaten by Time, i, 141
- Sir Anthony Shirley, i, 252; ii, 231
- Apostacy grounded on a trivial piece of Pageantry, ii, 302
- Apostates despised, i, 338
- Arms take place of the Gown, iii, 64
- Arabs* fly as oft as pursued, i, 193. Are true Rovers both by Sea and Land, i, 299. Are fierce and treacherous, gain more by Fraud than Merchandise, ii, 156
- Armenians* use Amulets against Witchcraft, ii, 274. Are to appear in the Royal City as Merchants, ii, 260. Converted to Christianity by St. Bartholomew, ii, 262 f. Are most Jacobites, ii, 270. Move their Turbats as we our Hats, i, 88
- Aristocracy countenanced on the Coast of *Malabar*, i, 133
- Army every New Moon refresh the Officers of their Pay, i, 341. The Cheats in the Army, i, 341. Armies make the *Indians* miserable by their Devastations, i, 348
- Art of painting Calicoes most perfected at *Mechlapatan*, i, 90
- Arts that are profitable more in vogue than Liberal Sciences, ii, 102 f.
- Articles betwixt the *Persians* and *English*, ii, 161
- Asæ the Companions of *Woden*, what relation to the *Gabers* or Old *Persians*, ii, 257
- Astrolabe* supplies the defect of the *Quadrant*, when the Sun is perpendicular, i, 47
- Astrology eluded by two Examples, iii, 88 f.
- Asdrubal, Hannibal's Brother*, Inventer of the Graver to govern Elephants, i, 271
- Author of the *Goa-Stones a Florentine Apothecary*, iii, 11
- Aureng-Zeeb* conquers *Duccan*, ii, 49 f.
- Austerities of the Pagans outdo the Papists, i, 257
- Awe teaches People to understand themselves, ii, 115
- Auto de Fie*, ii, 24
- Asimuth* Compass corrects the common Chart, and gives the Sun's Amplitude, i, 49
- B
- Balance all things in *Persia*, iii, 150
- Baker offending, thrown into his own hot Oven, iii, 24
- Banyan* [Baobab] Tree adored by the Heathens, despighted by the *Moors*, i, 59
- Banyans* offer to *Neptune*, i, 197. Dare not kill a Flea, i, 211. They present the Governor to keep a Mart at *Swally*, i, 212. Worse Brokers than *Jews*, i, 212. *Banyans* whether *Rechabites*, i, 212. Servile, and sneakingly officious, i, 341. They affect not stately Buildings: Besprinkle themselves with the Stale of a Cow: Live sordidly: Hold transmigration, i, 231.

- Banyans* Largess to Beasts [Brachmins] at their Funerals, i, 257. Implacable in their Revenge, i, 281. *Banyan*, though despicable, intrusted with Thousands, i, 285. A base sort of People, full of Tricks, Hypocrisy, and Cheats, i, 285; ii, 107. Boggle at no Villany for an Emolument, ii, 108. Adore that for their God which brings them most Profit, ii, 159. *Banyans* in Persia not so strict Pythagoreans, as in India, ii, 167. Pay 350 Thomands to excuse Beeves from the Shambles, ii, 167
- Barter for clean Linnen Rags at St. *Iago*, i, 40
- Bashfulness unsits Women for Conversation, ii, 28
- Bassa* of *Bussorah* and his Son's Heads set on the Walls of *Visiapour*, ii, 46
- Bassa* of *Bussorah* protected by the *Mogul*, i, 283
- Beads common to *Moor*-men as well as *Gentues*, to tell their Prayers, i, 258
- Behaviour of the common People rude at Church, ii, 16
- Beggars discouraged in Persia, iii, 125
- Beggars of the *Musslemen* stand on Punctilio's with God, i, 229
- Benefaction voided by sordid Gain, ii, 191 f.
- Benefit of the *Balneos*, ii, 330 ff. Best go first, ii, 314
- Besoar*-stones bred in several Creatures, ii, 193 f. Its Account, ii, 141
- Cape-Birds and Water-Snakes presage the approach to Land, i, 127
- Birds fall down as they fly, by reason of Heat, i, 99
- Fighting Bishops, ii, 3
- Blood of the *Persians*, how puddled, iii, 108
- Bodies when dead, washed and apparell'd as alive, ii, 286
- Bombaim* capable of securing 1000 Ships against Weather, i, 160
- Bombaim* part of Q. *Katherine's* Dowry, and would be of great Import, were it transferr'd according to Contract, i, 161
- Boats housed in the Winter, i, 144
- Boat-men dive 9 or 10 Minutes, ii, 7
- Books adorn'd with Gold, &c. in the Margin, iii, 65
- Bonds how firm'd, iii, 109 f.
- Bows of Horn unserviceable in Wet Weather, i, 249
- Bounty to the *Brachmins*, i, 202, 205, 255
- Breaking out in Botches a sign of a prevailing Crasis, i, 100
- Breezes from the Land 12 hours. as many from the Sea, i, 73
- Bride veil'd with a Saffron-colour'd Veil, ii, 281
- Bridegroom eats not till his Father-in-Law produces a Bag of Gold, ii, 280
- Bury *North* and *South* among the *Moors*, i, 238. Never bury in *Mosques*, i, 238
- Bulls, Elephants, and Tygres in-trapp'd, i, 147

Bullul Caun a good Soldier and
a *Patan*, ii, 5
Burning Women with their Hus-
bands a Custom as old as
Dido, i, 256; ii, 18
Butter is boiled to keep in hot
Countries, i, 296

C

Calicut the See of the *Zamerhin*,
i, 142. *Calicut* less famous
than reported by Travellers,
i, 141. *Calicut* though it give
the Name to *Indian Cloth*, yet
produces none, i, 220
Camels Male lust after the Female
forty days, ii, 317
Camel-Riders subject to a *Go-*
norrhœa, i, 271 f.
Camelions feed on Flies, i, 111
Canorcian the Primitive Language
of *Indostan*, ii, 42
Canorcens too conversant with the
Devil, i, 150
Canoreen a Fruitful Island, i, 189
Capuchins at *Surat*, i, 225
Caravan Ser Raws dedicated to
their Saints, ii, 178
Minor Cardamoms grow only
near *Cuttly-Cony*, i, 147
Carmelites eat no Flesh, ii, 14
Cash constantly turned, amounts
to the Credit and Profit of him
so employed, i, 212
Caspian Sea receives Rivers plen-
tifully, but makes no reciprocal
Return, iii, 13 f.
Castles inconvenient in the heart
of a Kingdom, iii, 42. Castle
of *Rairec*, i, 203
Cattle feed on Thistles, ii, 353
Charms pretended to be laid on

Aligators and Tygues, i, 145 f.
Charms admitted in Physick,
i, 258. Charms not having
Success, are imputed to the
Iniquity of those they fail, i,
292. Charms a pious Fraud of
the *Brachmins*, i, 292. Charms
against Witchcraft, ii, 274
Chastisement brings a due sense
of Crimes, ii, 46
Getting Children an Indulgence
for Poverty, ii, 115
Chimneys not known, ii, 313
Christians Lions of the Sea, i,
302. Christians turning *Moors*,
despised, i, 338
Christianity prevented spreading,
on Worldly Concerns, i, 194
Christ acknowledged more than
mere Man, iii, 74
Chronology of the *Persians* ridi-
culous, iii, 82
At Church, Bath, and *Caravan*
Ser Raw. no distinction,
iii, 27
Chyururgeons valued for making
Eunuchs, iii, 126
Cinamon grows only on the Island
Ceilon, i, 72
Cities Safeguard lost, the loss of
Trade follows, i, 344. Cities
of the *Portugals* receive none
a-nights besides Christians,
i, 192
From the Circumference to the
Centre all things move by a
Natural Tendency, iii, 24
Cleanliness next unto Godliness,
ii, 121
Clouds of Sand, ii, 158 f.
Coaches drawn by Oxen, i, 178.
No Coaches in *Persia*, ii, 307

Coats that are seamless worn by Rusticks, whether the same our Saviour wore,	ii, 316	<i>Cowis Caun</i> Protector of <i>Visia- pour</i> ,	ii, 5
Coco-Nut a-kin to the Palm-Tree,	ii, 182	Diversity of Creatures hath no other end but to represent the Divinity, &c.	i, 118
Cock-fighting,	ii, 68 f.	Crime unpardonable to convert a <i>Mahometan</i> ,	ii, 276
<i>Cofferies</i> govern in <i>Duccan</i> ,	ii, 52	Crow has an Enemy contemptible in Bulk, in Revenge implac- able,	ii, 98
Cold affects in Hot Countries, i, 140. Occasioned,	ii, 232	Custom more venerable than Science, i, 180. Custom makes all things easy, ii, 180. Cus- toms abated on account of defending <i>Surat</i> , i, 223. Cus- toms cheated, if detected, only Corporal Punishment, not Loss of Goods, i, 247. Custom of the <i>Moguls</i> never to go through with a Conquest, iii, 173. Cus- toms of the Old World retained in the <i>East</i> ,	i, 118; ii, 323
Coin in <i>India</i> the most refined in the World,	i, 248		
Combating of several <i>Europe</i> Nations,	i, 298 f.		
Comedians usher in their Inter- ludes with Taber and Pipe.	iii, 94		
Commerce ceases during the Rains, i, 196. Commercemakes People Urbane,	i, 150		
Common Slaves in the <i>East</i> ,	ii, 52		
Company, whether best a Na- tional, or Private Concern,	i, 168.		
Company's Servants brook no Competitors,	i, 304		
Complexions and Colours,	ii, 115 f.		
Convents fuller of Men than the Garisons,	ii, 25		
<i>Cornish-men</i> have a Right to Trade to <i>East-India</i> ,	ii, 3		
Corn trodden by the <i>Moors</i> with Oxen,	ii, 108		
Cotton-string Badge the Char- acteristick of a <i>Brachmin</i> ,	ii, 101		
Courage conspicuous as well in Adversity as Prosperity,	i, 122		
Cowardliness of 400 men,	ii, 340		
Cowards when Peril is far from them, strikes all with Light- ning, &c.	i, 91		
Cow-dung the only Firing at <i>Maderas</i> ,	i, 111		
Cows held sacred,	i, 95		
		D	
		Days and Nights equal almost between the Tropicks,	ii, 91.
		Good and Bad Days taken notice of,	i, 324
		<i>Dun de Rajafore</i> endures Fifteen Years Siege,	ii, 64
		Danger in travelling not feared,	iii, 5
		Dead Bodies burnt by the <i>Gentues</i> , buried by the <i>Moors</i> ,	i, 95
		Death to attempt the Discovery of their Women,	i, 89; iii, 130
		Delight prefer'd before Security, the ill effects thereof,	ii, 62
		Deluge possible,	i, 197
		<i>Dervises</i> charged with Intrigues,	iii, 125
		Devotes morose,	i, 136; ii, 38

- Dcvention of the Heathens consists in washing and praying, i, 255
- Diamonds only cut Diamonds, i, 285. Diamonds carried into Europe to be Set, return'd to India, make good Profit, i, 226
- Diseases contracted at *Mech-lapatan* cured by timely removing up the Country, i, 100. Diseases produced by the Alteration of Seasons, i, 285
- Disrepute attends ill success, i, 135
- Civil Dissentions the Ruin of the Indian Government, i, 81
- Don John de Castro* pawn'd a Hair of his Beard, which he redeemed at the Expense of all his Wealth, ii, 151
- Dowry the Credit of the Affinity, not Money, ii, 276
- Dregs of the People submit themselves to the Devil out of fear, ii, 78 f.
- Drought the unhappiness of Persia, iii, 4
- Drunkards Monarchs, i, 230
- Duccan* the Bread of the Military Men, ii, 51
- Dutch* Policy in burning four Ships Cargoes of Spice, ii, 163. *Dutch* got into the Breach we made on the Portugals, i, 225. *Dutch* demolish St. Thomas, and restore our Prisoners, i, 292. *Dutch* after twelve years besieging *Goa*, forced to leave it at last, ii, 7. *Dutch* assist the Moors against the French, i, 114. *Dutch* interest to quell the French in India, i, 117. *Dutch* engross the Spice-Trade, i, 132; ii, 163. *Dutch* awe the Natives, i, 134
- Dying Persons laid up to the Chin, to expire in their holy Waters, i, 256
- E
- Ears stopt with the Fingers, emits the Voice the stronger, i, 351
- Earthquakes frequent in Persia, ii, 323
- Easements made at set hours, i, 94
- Eating together a Sacramental Obligation, ii, 42
- Eat nothing has life among the Gentues, i, 94
- Eating together among the Eastern Nations a great scruple, i, 232
- Ecliptick Course of the Sun creates the Seasons of the Year, i, 49; ii, 176
- Elephants Male mounted in State only by the Royal Family, i, 86
- Elephants imitate human Progression, i, 101
- Elephants generate as other Brutes, i, 102. Number of Elephants give Esteem to those that maintain them, i, 242. How governed, i, 101
- Emanuel Lobos* Rebel to the State of *Goa*, ii, 21
- Emblems of Dominion and Justice, i, 208
- Emperors of Persia exoculate their Brothers, iii, 37. Emperors of India send their Kindred to the Post to be intoxicated by a Poysonous Drink, i, 92. Emperors only in India allowed a *Sembrero*,

i, 219. Emperor seizes young Girls for the <i>Haram</i> in <i>Persia</i> ,	Fidelity a rare Instance in a Covetous Man,
ii, 274 f.	i, 339
Enemies not to be furnished with Weapons, i, 182. 267	Fighting with Mountains harder than fighting with Men, ii, 59
<i>English</i> possessed of <i>Bombaim</i> after a long Debate of the <i>Indian Portugals</i> , i, 161. Formidable to the <i>Moors</i> , i, 161.	First-fruits exacted by the Emperor of <i>Persia</i> , ii, 216
Breed sickly Children, i, 179.	Great Fish prey on the little, as well on the Land as in the Sea, ii, 5
<i>English</i> privately befriend the <i>French</i> , i, 117. <i>English</i> have a Right to the Customs in <i>Persia</i> , ii, 161. Neglect the Gulph of <i>Persia</i> , iii, 50. <i>English</i> Trade is chiefly in <i>Calicuts</i> ,	Rotten Fish cause a poysonous Stench, i, 143
i, 225	Fish and Fowl dedicated to Sacred Uses, ii, 238
Entertainment in our Travels course, unless provided by ourselves, ii, 179	Flattery, odious in a Generous Spirit, much encouraged, i, 324
Envious Eye cast on <i>Bombaim</i> by the <i>Dutch</i> , i, 181	Flesh eaten as we do, pernicious in <i>East-India</i> , i, 209 f. Flesh more eaten on the Island <i>Bombaim</i> in a Month, than in <i>Surat</i> in a Year, i, 177. Flesh roasted peculiar to the <i>English</i> Nation, i, 209
<i>Equilibrium</i> as to Temperament, ii, 314	Flies cover the Table, i, 87
Eunuchs most in favour at the Court of <i>Gulconda</i> , i, 83.	Flying Fish, i, 35
Eunuchs Spies upon the Women, iii, 126	To Foot it through the City, a sign of the greatest Poverty, iii, 67
An Exalted Pitch of State a more conspicuous Confinement, ii, 247	Forbidden to burn the Wives with the dead Husband, i, 276
Eye-sight lost by an hot Iron drawn over, must not be recovered, iii, 38	Force without Counsel of no value, i, 122
F	Foreign Ministers have a Respect equal to their Privy Counsellors, iii, 52
<i>Fakiers</i> ungovernable, i, 241	Founders pervicaciously vain-glorious, ii, 169
Family Government maintain'd, i, 295	<i>Franciscans</i> touch no Money, ii, 13
Feast of <i>Ahasuerus</i> continued to this day among the <i>Persian</i> Emperors, iii, 40. Feast truly <i>Persian</i> , ii, 239	Fraud performs what Force could not, ii, 63
	Freemen the most Slaves, i, 221

- French* bad Neighbours to the English, i, 117. *French* force St. Thomas from the *Moors*, i, 117
 Friendship not suspicious, ii, 54
 Frost at *Surat*, ii, 94
Fridar set apart for the *Moors* Worship, i, 239, 322 f.
 Funnels to let in Wind to the Houses at *Gombroon*, ii, 159 f.
 Futurity not regarded, ii, 169
- G**
- Gabers* the Ancient *Persians*, ii, 253. Their Garb the same as those portray'd on the Walls of *Persepolis*, ii, 253
 Instant Gain preferr'd before Glory or future Emolument, i, 168
Ganges what esteem among the Indians, ii, 95
Gaot or Mount *Sephir* crosses the Continent North and South, as the *Taurus* does East and West, i, 312 f.
 Gardens idolized, iii, 7. Gardens granted by the King's Favour for Diversion, i, 261 f.
 Garlick used in Lethargick Distempers, i, 286. 338
Gentiles scruple to kill their Neat, yet make no Conscience to work them to death, i, 350
Gentues had rather kill a Man, than suffer a Beast to be led to the Stall, ii, 25
 Geographers reckon *Gates* or the *Gaot* Mount *Sephir*, i, 313
Georgians make the Infantry among the *Persians*, as the *Janizaries* do among the *Turks*, ii, 290; iii, 63. Are Christians of the *Greek Church*, ii, 291
Gibraltar the farthest Point South of all Europe, i, 32
 Girls among the *Armenians* espoused as soon as Christned, to prevent the Emperor's Usurpation, ii, 274 f.
 Gizard of an *Hebera* good in an Asthma, ii, 356
Goa well seated, ii, 22
 Goats from *Carmania* sent to endeavour a Breed on St. *Helena*, ii, 369
 God infatuates those he will destroy, ii, 49
 God's Decrees not to be known by us, iii, 89
 Godliness not only the chief, but fundamental of all other Virtues, iii, 78
 Gold prevails more than Right, iii, 105. Gold though it grows not in *India*, yet it stays there, i, 283
 Goods ill gotten thrive not, iii, 50
 Government of *India* Tyrannical, ii, 110. Arbitrary, ii, 112.
 Government of *Persia* the most Absolute, iii, 40. Government of *Seva Gi* both Tyrannical and Barbarous, ii, 18
 Governors ought to observe Laws, iii, 111. Governors expect large Gratuities to license Heathen Ceremonies, i, 276.
 Governors of Castles confined within Limits, i, 249, 339.
 Governors in Fee with the Publick Notaries, i, 344
 Grandeur of the World momentary, ii, 254

- Grapes without Stones, ii, 202
 Greatness of the *Portugals* expressed by their number of *Sembreroes* and *Cofferries*, i, 192
Greek Church and Language abominated by the Armenians, ii, 291
Groves of Beetle-Nut Trees represent a Place of Worship, i, 110
Guleunda its King, how chosen, ii, 84. Aw'd by the *Mogul*, ii, 49
 Gun cloathed with Scarlet, that has made any notable Breach, slain any great Soldier, or done any extraordinary Feat. ii, 72
Gurgulets, called so from the sound is made when Water is poured out of them to be drunk as the *Indians* do, without touching it with their Lips, i, 125
- H
- Habits of the Armenian Clergy, ii, 273
 Hands and Feet chief Instruments, and so used among the *Gentiles*, i, 284
 Hatmakers adulterate Bevers with *Carmania Wool*, iii, 8
 Harbour at *Goa* a fortunate and well-weigh'd Choice, ii, 21
 Hawks of *Muscovy* in great esteem, ii, 304
 Health not to be impaired, but the Mind strengthned by a due subjection, ii, 283
 Heathens admire their *Brachmins* foretelling Eclypses, i, 276.
 Heathens in *India* hold the Antiquities of *Pan*, *Ceres*, and *Flora*, i, 118. They are polled by the *Mogul*, i, 293
 Heats unhealthy, i, 195. Their ill effect remedied, ii, 187
Hernia Umbilicalis, or Navel-Rupture, i, 67
 Hills of Red Earth, i, 144
Hing used to correct a Windy Stomach, i, 286. Cakes of *Hing*, ii, 196
Hobies with their Swords able to cut down Man and Horse, ii, 5
Hodges or Pilgrims Holiness makes them proud, iii, 81. Lay Burthens on others, and exempt themselves, ii, 359
 Hogs unclean, i, 98
Hollanders only carry Money from *Surat*, i, 283
Holencores vilified for eating every thing, and doing servile Offices, i, 82
 Holidays observed, especially *Sunday*, ii, 92
 Honesty of the Country People, ii, 221
 Honour breed Enulation, i, 344. Hopes of Honour being frustrated, there can be no desire of Glory, iii, 57
 Horse intomb'd, ii, 31. Horses have the Virtue of their Sires communicated to them, iii, 5. Used gently in the *East*, i, 251. High-mettled, i, 343. Not put to carry Packs, Oxen being for that Service, i, 97, 295. Horses never gelded, or cropped either Ears or Tails, i, 296
 Hospitals for Beasts, i, 138

- Hol Countries, as they are bad for young and lively, are good for Women and Old Folks, i, 180
Hottentots mere Barbarians,
 iii, 179
- Houses on Wheels, ii, 178.
 Houses of Office none at *Goa*, they doing their Needs a-top of their Houses, ii, 26. House of Office kept cleanly, i, 185. A piece of Courtesy to direct Strangers to them, i, 185
- Humanity turned into Avarice no Benefit, ii, 196
 I
- St. *Iago* Natives thickish and cunning, i, 45
- Jasper Antonio* Author of the *Goa-Stones*, ii, 11
- Ice drank frequently, pernicious to most Bodies, ii, 343
- Idea of Religion as it is true or false, so it happens there results a true Piety, Superstition or Idolatry, iii, 116
- Idleness makes Work, iii, 34
- Jealousy the Overthrow of the *Indians*, i, 81. Cause of Distraction, iii, 40 f.
- Jenneah* the Imperial City of the *Duccan* Kings, i, 340
- Jesuits* [Brähmans] rich, despise Government, chief Traders, ii, 33
- Jews* wear a Patch of different Colour only at *Lhor*, where the *Cau* has been a Pilgrim, ii, 216. *Jews* ripped open on suspicion of evil practice against the Emperor, ii, 350
- Ignorance the Mother of Devotion, i, 119
- Imam* Guardian of *Mahomet's* Tomb, ii, 155 f.
- Immunity from Customs granted *Musselman* out of a Religious Fit, i, 247 f.
- Immuring a Punishment for Robbers in *Persia*, ii, 205, 358
- Indians* paint their Foreheads, to distinguish their Tribes, i, 93.
- Idolaters; eat only with their own Tribe, i, 94
- Indostan* has no Character to express its self in, ii, 103
- Industry of the *Portugals* commended, ii, 156
- Inflammation cured by the Butter of Gourds, ii, 202
- Influence of the Climate, ii, 81 f.
- Innkeepers unprovided, iii, 27
- Inquisidor the Chief Judge, always a *Dominican*, ii, 11
- Inquisition a terrible Tribunal, ii, 24. Called the Holy Office, ii, 24
- Inquisitiveness into the Affairs of the *Banyans* revenged with Poyson, i, 217 f.
- Intemperance the Cause of short life, i, 179
- Interest obliges to be faithful, ii, 52
- Interloping destructive to the English Trade, i, 226
- Interpreters for *Europeans* are allowed each a Wine-press in *Persia*, ii, 164
- Insects generated in every Plant, ii, 203
- Johanna* Natives simple and innocent, i, 65. Their Infants have large *Penes*, i, 67

*Don John de Castro's Virtue,
Valour, and singular Probity,*
ii, 151
*Justice alone all other Virtues
holds,* iii, 18

K
Kindred of Mahomet presume
on that Title to enslave his
Followers, ii, 216
Kindness extorted not so oblig-
ing as freely offered, i, 117
King of Bantam, Junior, espousess
the *Dutch* Interest, i, 268.
Kings that see by the Eyes of
others, must have a false Prospec-

pect, ii, 52. Kings hate where
they fear, ii, 236. A good
King ought to govern, that the
Laws as well as Arms should
be a Safeguard to his People,
ii, 291. King of *Persia's* Bounty
to the Fryars and Artisans of
Europe, ii, 246. Kings Slave a
Title of the highest Honour,
iii, 23

Kingdom entirely subjected, what
advantage, iii, 28

Kitchens how provided, iii, 24
Kites idolized, i, 95

Carpet Knights, i, 343
Knight of the *Zamerhin* distin-

guished by Golden Manacles
to his Wrists, i, 137 f.

L.

Labour to get, before allowed to
spend, ii, 259

Lands in *India* all the Kings,
i, 137

Language at the *Persian* Court
Turkish, iii, 144. Language at

the *Mogul's* Court *Persian*, ii,
122. Language of *Indostan* a
mixture of *Persian* and *Sela-*
vonian, ii, 122. Language of
the *Armenians* polished by the
Greek, ii, 260

Lapis Lazuli how attained,
iii, 10 f.

Laws of *Persians* still unalter-
able; their Laws therefore
never abrogated, but always
impugned by a fresh Edict, iii,
59. Laws swallowed up by
the Absolute Authority of dis-
pensing with them, ii, 216.
Laws of *Conchon* restore no
Wrecks, i, 206

Left Hand Place of highest
Honour, i, 270

Legs appearing while sitting, ill
breeding in the *East*, i, 235

Letters how sealed, i, 343
Lex Talionis squares not in all
points, iii, 105

Liberty of the Country not so
much insisted on, as whose
Salt they eat, i, 341 f.

Linguits bury, contrary to other
Indians, who burn, ii, 19. *Lin-*
guits Stalions, ii, 77

Lingua a Franca universally un-
derstood in the *East*, ii, 288

Liquors enervating are *Arack*,
made of *Blubber, Jaggaree*, etc.
i, 179

Lizard the most extreme part
South of England, i, 31

Logboard gives only the Ships
Way, not the Course, and that
uncertainly, i, 32

Lousy Companions fill us with
that Vermin, ii, 320

<i>Loyelists</i> Colleges would serve for Castles,	i, 183	Mastich-Tree,	ii, 201
Luxury of the <i>Persians</i> ,	ii, 280	Mats used for Sails,	i, 134
		No Mean betwixt Poverty and Wealth,	iii, 133
		Meat easily digested in Hot Countries,	i, 209 f.
		Medicks among the <i>Egyptians</i> came from their exposing their Sick to all Passengers, to ad- minister Physick,	i, 350
		Melancholy more than Magick among the <i>Indians</i> ,	ii, 81
		<i>Mendam's Point</i> the <i>English</i> Burial-place,	i, 172
		Merchandize not scorn'd by the <i>Indian Princes</i> ,	i, 151
		Merchants and Soldiers of a dif- ferent Temper,	i, 167, ii, 290.
		Merchants not countenanced by <i>Seva Gi</i> ,	ii, 66
		Meridian, why placed in the <i>Azores</i> ,	iii, 188
		Meritorious to dye in their Sacred Rivers,	i, 256
		<i>Mesrob</i> , the Refiner of the <i>Armenian</i> and <i>Georgian</i> Lan- guage,	ii, 265
		Midwives distinguished by Tufts on their Shooes,	i, 237
		Minds Excellencies beholden in some measure to the pureness of the air,	iii, 146
		Mineral Waters touched upon,	ii, 330 ff.
		Mines of Copper discovered lately in <i>Persia</i> a detriment to the <i>Dutch</i> ,	iii, 12
		Miscarriages laid on the King's Favourite,	ii, 350
		Miserable is it where the Mem- bers grow too powerful for the Head,	ii, 46

Mock-Creation of the <i>Mango-Tree</i> ,	ii, 104	<i>Moormen</i> beslabber with Rose-water, i, 231. Pull off their Slippers as well out of Complement as Religion, i, 235. <i>Moormen</i> not content with sipping, but drink largely of Strong Drinks when they begin, i, 235.
Modesty of the <i>Indians</i> ,	i, 255	<i>Moormen</i> mourn by neglecting to trim their Beards, and shift their Cloaths, i, 274. <i>Moormen</i> illiterate, i, 282. Pray for the Dead, i, 309
<i>Moguls</i> better at standing it out in the Plain, than the Mountaineers,	ii, 68	<i>Moors</i> in common account signify the same as those of the <i>Mahometan</i> Faith, i, 74. <i>Moors</i> of the <i>Arabian</i> Sect more Puritanical than the <i>Chias</i> , i, 232. <i>Moors</i> are jealous, i, 88. Their foolish Behaviour at an Eclypse, i, 275, f. Are revengeful, i, 90. <i>Moors</i> forced to use <i>Europe</i> Pilots, by reason of their own Unskilfulness, i, 74
<i>Mogul</i> persecutes the Heathens with Severity and Hatred, iii, 168. <i>Mogul's</i> Forces never entire, ii, 51. Imposed on by the Officers, ii, 51. His Policy in governing, ii, 110. His Ports blocked up by <i>Seva Gi</i> , ii, 58. <i>Mogul</i> seated by the Overthrow of his Brethren, and Death of his Father <i>Shaw Juan</i> , ii, 65. <i>Mogul</i> signifies White, ii, 110		Mosques turned into Granaries by <i>Seva Gi</i> , i, 309. Mosques kept clean, i, 61
Monarchy defaced, when circumscribed by no Sanction, ii, 216. Monarchy more for the <i>Dutch</i> Advantage in <i>India</i> , than a Commonwealth, ii, 114		Mountaineers Pillagers, and fare hard, ii, 67
Contempt of Money a rare Virtue in a <i>Banyan</i> , ii, 336. Money not only the Nerves and Sinews of Trade, but the Life it self, i, 79. Money centres in <i>India</i> , i, 283. Money corrupts the most Loyal, ii, 63. Money, says <i>Seva Gi</i> , is inconvenient for the common people, ii, 66		Mountains covered with Snow all the Year in <i>Persia</i> , ii, 232. Mountains harder to be overcome than Men, ii, 59. Mountains of <i>India</i> cross the Continent <i>North</i> and <i>South</i> , as the <i>Taurus East</i> and <i>West</i> , ii, 95
Monkeys fabled to be once Men, ii, 73		Mules defend the Herd, iii, 124
<i>Monsoons</i> blow <i>North</i> and <i>South</i> beyond the <i>Tropicks</i> , between them <i>East</i> and <i>West</i> , from whence they spring, i, 46. A farther Account of the <i>Monsoons</i> , i, 124 ff.		Mules and Camels over-land Ships, iii, 5
Moon enchanted, an old Opinion, iii, 72		Natural Mummy, ii, 356
Captain <i>Munday</i> sent to St. <i>Helens</i> i, 31		Q

- | | |
|---|---|
| Murder of Wife, Child, and Paramour, connived at, apprehending the Adulteress in the Fact, | O |
| i, 243 | Obedience taught before Command, |
| Musk from <i>Cochin China</i> , ii, 97 | iii, 38 |
| <i>Mushat</i> a Country Village, where I had like to have been smothered, | Obscenity and Brutality of the <i>Gabers</i> , |
| ii, 318 f. | ii, 256 |
| <i>Muscetoes</i> intolerable, | Offices purchased at high Rates, |
| i, 100 | indirect Courses must be taken to repay themselves, |
| Loud Musick gives the time of the Day, ii, 192. Musick <i>Vox & præterea nihil</i> , | iii, 132 f. |
| iii, 93 | Officers defraud the Soldiers of their Pay, |
| N | i, 343 |
| Nastiness evaporated in the Heats, and washed out of their Cities in the Rains, so that no Plague was ever known, | Oistershells used instead of Glass for Windows, |
| i, 285 | i, 172 |
| Native Soil admired by all, | Omens observed, |
| ii, 322 f. | ii, 61 |
| Nature abhors Idleness, | Onions correct the Unsavouriness of their standing Waters, |
| i, 35. | i, 338 |
| Nature effects Miracles on Bodies not debauch'd, | Opium used to make men perform things above their strength, |
| i, 287 | i, 279. Opium brought from <i>Malabar-Coast</i> , |
| Naval Power a Curb to the <i>Indians</i> , | i, 220 |
| i, 289 | Orders of Priests at <i>Surat</i> . |
| Navigation perfects Geography, | i, 239 f. |
| ii, 156 | Organs and loud Musick taking with the <i>Barbarians</i> , |
| Nests of the <i>Toddy</i> -Birds admirably contrived, | ii, 103 |
| i, 196 | <i>Ormus</i> being taken by the <i>English</i> , was the first Blow to the <i>Portugal</i> Greatness, |
| Nobility extinct among the <i>Armenians</i> , | iii, 48 |
| ii, 262 | <i>Ovid</i> deceived about the Fifth Zone, |
| Noise in their Inns, ii, 180. | ii, 81 |
| Noise not made, they hardly think any intent on their Business, | Owners of Ships unfit for Commanders in time of War, |
| i, 215 | i, 168 |
| North of the Line the <i>Crociers</i> are not far seen, | Oxen made by bruising their Testicles, not gelding, |
| i, 70 | i, 296. |
| Numbers of the Heathens a thousand to one more than the <i>Moors</i> , | Oxen all over <i>India</i> have a Bunch between their Shoulders, |
| i, 275, ii, 49 | i, 296 |
| | P |
| | <i>Pagods</i> showed into Blood, |
| | i, 327 |

<i>Palenkeen</i> -Boys out-travel their Horses: <i>Palenkeen</i> described,	i, 97 f.	<i>Peons</i> Officiousness, i, 87
Palm-T'ree delights in hot and sandy Countries, ii, 207.		People Warlike about <i>Bonarn</i> , ii, 199
Palm-Trees impregnated with the Seed of the Male, ii, 183		Pepper how it grows, i, 139
<i>Parsies</i> made Free Denizens of India, i, 293		<i>Persepolis</i> the Residence of Storks, the Tyrants of the Fens, ii, 222 f. <i>Persepolis</i> set on fire by <i>Alexander</i> , i, 226
<i>Parzy</i> -Tombs in <i>Persia</i> the same as in <i>India</i> , ii, 306		<i>Persian</i> Language as in our <i>Polyglot</i> , not understood by the present <i>Persians</i> , ii, 122
Pass at <i>Tanaw</i> a stop to our Trade, as well as Sustinence at <i>Bombaim</i> , i, 352		<i>Persians</i> are Good-Fellows, ii, 210. Courtly, ii, 159. Feast truly <i>Persian</i> , ii, 239. <i>Persian</i> Monarchs Absolute, iii, 40.
Passions discernible in the Faces of the Blacks, i, 327		<i>Persians</i> the French of the East, ii, 323. Opiniators, iii, 96
Chief Pastor's Office, ii, 291		
<i>Patamars</i> wear Feathers in their Turbats, i, 279		Person and Order distinguished by the <i>Persians</i> , iii, 59
<i>Patans</i> a Warlike Race, i, 243		Pilgrimage to <i>Mecha</i> clarifies their Blood, and purifies their Manners, iii, 80
Patriarchs foisted on the <i>Armenians</i> by the Mandates of the <i>Persian</i> Emperors, ii, 265		Pilot-fish, i, 36
<i>Pawn</i> , a bundle whereof wrapt in a Leaf of <i>Arack</i> , an <i>Indian</i> Entertainment, i, 110. <i>Pacon</i> makes a fragrant Breath, and gives a rare Vermilion to the Lips, i, 234		Pirates of <i>Malabar</i> , i, 144
Pay the cause of Soldiers, and Money the cause of Pay, i, 341		<i>Pissasphaltum</i> <i>Dioscoridis</i> , iii, 15
Peace could not be obtain'd by the <i>Syddy</i> , i, 201. Peace endeavoured with <i>Seva</i> by <i>Visiappour</i> , i, 202. Peace concluded with the <i>English</i> at <i>Seva Gr's</i> Coronation, i, 203 f.		Pits dug for Wild Beasts, i, 147
Pearl dragged at <i>Tutticaree</i> , i, 129. Pearl-fishing divided between the <i>Persians</i> and <i>Arabs</i> , ii, 364 f. Pearls how generated, ii, 362		<i>Plato's</i> Revolution kept alive, i, 108
		<i>Platonists</i> reign Souls descend upon Earth from the Tropick of <i>Capricorn</i> , iii, 178
		Plenty of <i>India</i> invited the <i>Moguls</i> , ii, 110
		<i>Plica Polonica</i> incident to the Indians, i, 78 f.
		Poesy how animated, iii, 81
		Poll-Tax on the <i>Indians</i> , i, 275
		Poor well provided for, ii, 21 f.
		Pope grants <i>East-India</i> to the <i>Portugals</i> , <i>West-India</i> to the <i>Spaniards</i> , i, 224

- Popish Priests of all Orders
buried in their Habits, ii, 12
- Popish Emissaries compass Sea
and Land to gain Proselytes,
i, 107
- Ports blocked up, an irreparable
Loss, ii, 58
- Portugal* Women good at Cook-
ery, ii, 28. *Portugals* the first
Discoverers of the Way by Sea
to the *East-Indies*, i, 142; ii,
100. *Portugals* fondly report
all *India* to be subject to them,
i, 161; ii, 114. *Portugals* great
Bleeders, ii, 14. *Portugals* on
their Arrival at *Calicut* found
500 Sail without Compass, i,
142. *Portugals* to their Honour
took sure-footing in *India*, i,
161. *Portugals* hold their
Tenants in a state of Villenage,
i, 182. *Portugals* supply the
Defect of the *English*, by send-
ing a Fleet into the Gulph of
Persia, ii, 150
- Poverty a cause of Contempt,
i, 180
- Prayers for the Dead held effi-
cacious among the *Moors*,
i, 309
- Presents gain admission, i, 200
- To preside is to do Right, iii, 111
- Priests ascend the Steeples every
Pore, or Three Hours, to call
men to Prayers, ii, 92. Priests
marry, ii, 273
- Princes of *India* weak at Sea, i,
117 f. Princes how educated,
iii, 38 f. Princes Actions can-
not escape canvassing, iii, 42.
- Princes of *India* poyon their
Presents, i, 84
- Slendcrness of Profit and Assidu-
ity alike irksome, iii, 64
- Procession made to implore Rain,
iii, 173
- Professors examine not their
Students, iii, 66
- Prognosticators chime to all
Fancies, more than consult the
Truth, iii, 86
- Providence has suppress'd the
Growth of Tigres, ii, 72 f.
- Punishments of divers kinds,
i, 244 f.
- Q
- Quadrants of no use, for want of
Shade, i, 47
- Persons of Quality protect the
Banyans, i, 246
- Quarrels for Religion implacable,
i, 193
- Queen-Mother of *Persia* of the
Georgian Extract, ii, 290
- R
- Raja's* are burnt when dead, with
a numerous Train of their
Relations and Domesticks,
iii, 168
- Raja* of *Rhamnagur* dispossessed
by *Seva Gi*, ii, 45
- Rajapore* produces Hot Baths,
ii, 95
- Rain a cause of Insects, Vermin,
&c., i, 47. Rain accompanies
the Sun, i, 49. Rains an occa-
sion of Sickness, i, 70. It
seldom rains at *Gombroom*; the
Cause, ii, 171
- Ramras* the last Heathen Em-
peror, ii, 47

- Ranna Jessinsin*, iii, 161
 Rats whet the Labour of the Inhabitants of St. Helena,
 iii, 182 f.
 Religion, what can it not persuade? ii, 289. Every one indeed ought to have a sense of Religion, but that the Immortal Gods should be appeased or pleased with Wickedness, is the highest Frenzy to believe, ii, 256. Religion that should cement and unite Mankind in the Band of Humanity, introduces Absurdities. ii, 291. Religious Debates fomented by Interest and Ambition, ii, 291. Religion has enjoined the Indians healthy Rules, forbearance of Flesh and Wine,
 ii, 83
 Representations not abdicated by the *Persians*, ii, 237
 Splendid Retinue both their Pride and Safeguard, i, 86
 Revengc by Poyson cautioned, i, 87. Every Region provided with Remedies, ii, 341
 Rice, the best grows on the Coast of *Malabar*, i, 139. Rice delights in Water, i, 110
 Riches, Honour, and High Birth make none happier or better, unless this Worlds Goods be seasoned with a Mind endued with Virtue, ii, 290
 Riders how they manage their Horses, i, 342
 Robberies prevented in *Persia*, without oppressing the Subject, ii, 161
 Robbers immured, ii, 205
 Roots instead of Bread-Corn eaten at St. Helens, iii, 183
- S
- Sacrifice-Islands*, i, 144. For common Safety if any Part be afflicted, every Member runs to the Succour of the other, as to their peculiar Tranquility,
 ii, 67
 Sailors more accustomed to ride on Yard-Arms than any other Cavalcade, ii, 165
 Saint of *Mahomet's* a lewd Villain, ii, 344
 Salute with Even Guns as we with Odd, i, 269
 Salt at *Ormus* a Cure against Fevers, ii, 158
 Sands whirled by the Winds, ii, 158 f., 170
 Satyrs, ii, 96
 Seals cut in Silver are engraven with Words, not Images, iii, 109
 Seasons of the Year how contrived to the North of the Line, ii, 81
 Self-preservation, iii, 111
 Serpents charmed by Musick, i, 98 f.
 Servants bow every Morning to the Thresholds of their Masters Doors, ii, 159. Servants more Lordly than better born, i, 216
 Servitude has debased the Ancient *Persians*, ii, 258
Seva Gi his own Pay-master, ii, 58. His Stratagems, ii, 61 f.
Seva Gi escapes the *Mogul's* Court in an Hamper, ii, 65.

- He is disheartned for going to Sea, ii, 66. He is weighed against Gold, which he gave to the *Brachmins*, i, 205. He ascends his Throne, i, 207. *Seva Gi* a diseased Member of *Visiapour*, [Duccan], ii, 57
Sharks, i, 37
 Shaving a sign of mourning among the *Gentiles*, i, 256
Shaw Abas a great Hero, ii, 236
 Specious Shews recommend more than Profoundness of l'arts, i, 84. Shews expose the Christian Religion to Contempt, rather than gain Proselytes, ii, 276
 Wandring Shepherds, ii, 226
 Ships make into the *Indian* Ports after St. *Francis's* Moon, i, 197. Ships, when they go in and come out on the Coast of *Coromandel*, i, 127 f.
Sir Anthony Shirley, i, 252; ii, 231
 Shoot backward, as the *Parthians*, iii, 134
Shroffs try all Metals, iii, 163
Siads only wear green, i, 233
Siegmanjaffa, a Great Minister of *Gulonda*, his Gratitude and Policy, i, 83
 Silver Bait procures all things, ii, 316
 Singers in *Siras* are the best in *Persia*, ii, 212
Sinus Persicus and the *Red Sea*, Keys to the World's Treasury, ii, 156
Siras is an University, ii, 212. Glasses are made there as well as Wine, Spirits of Wine, Rose-water; and there are the best Copper-Smiths, ii, 215
 Snakestones a remedy against their Bites, i, 138 f.
 Water-Snakes warn the Pilots of their approach to the *Indian* Shores, i, 127
 Snow called White Rain by the *Indians*, ii, 317
 Sodomy common, yet Revenge on the Aggressor commended, i, 245, 282
 Soldiers Maxim, ii, 6. No Compliments expected from Soldiers, i, 313
Solomon's Throne, i, 340; ii, 307
 South of the Sun's Declination, a *North* Sun makes the same time of Day, a *South* Sun does on the contrary side, i, 48
 Spice-Trade, all but Pepper, in the hands of the *Dutch*, i, 132
 Spies under disguise of a *Fakier*, iii, 125
 Spirit of *Sulphur*, where best, ii, 193
 Sports of the *Moors*, i, 277
 Spouts very frequent, i, 47
 Stab or a Slash, which most mortal, i, 336
 Stars Ascension and Descension, ii, 91; *North* Star seen in a *South* Horizon, i, 47
 Statists keep Princes Judgments in Minority, iii, 39
 Stones in the Body generated by bad Water, ii, 200
 Straw chopped used instead of Fodder, ii, 306
 Strength void of Counsel sinks with its proper Weight, i, 122

- Suffees*, in contradiction to the
Siads, wear Rcd. iii, 60
- Suffee* a great Hoarder, ii, 308 f.
- Sumptuousness the consequence
 of Trade, i, 308
- Sunday observed by the *Indians*,
 ii, 92
- Sun where Vertical, ii, 91. Sun's
 Ecliptick Motion determining
 the Seasons contradicted, ii,
 355 f. Sun at the Line twice,
 at each Tropick but once Per-
 pendicular in a year, i, 49
- Superstition makes men lose
 their Reasons, ii, 77
- Surat* advanced from a Fishing
 Town within this Century, i,
 300. *Surat Seva Gi's* Treas-
 urey, ii, 44 f.
- T
- Taskmasters most severe of the
 same Tribe, i, 175
- Temperance a cause of long Life,
 ii, 120
- St. *Thomas* buried in *India*, on
 whose Mount grows the *Arbor*
Tristis, i, 115 f. St. *Thomas*
 Christians have one Leg bigger
 than the other, see the Cause,
 i, 139
- Time of Heats healthiest at
Mechlapatan, i, 99. Time of
 Rains sickly, i, 100. Time
 wears all things, ii, 222
- Timurlan* enters *India* with his
Scythians, ii, 90
- Tobacco and Walnuts the best
 at *Maijm* in *Persia*, ii, 228
- Toleration in Religion consistent
 with the Rules of Gain,
 i, 177
- Tombs of Emperors why not
 durable, iii, 11 f. Tomb of a
Persian Ambassador sent into
England, i, 252. *Tom Coriat's*
 Tomb, i, 253
- Tortoise-shells from the *South*-
 Seas only made transparent,
 i, 305. Tortoise weeps; its
 large Heart cause of its Pusil-
 animity, i, 305. Tortoise or
 Turtle-flesh eaten a Month to-
 gether, specifical for the Cure
 of Diseases gotten in long Voy-
 ages, iii, 185 f.
- Trade to *Euphrates* laid open by
 the *English*, iii, 50. Trade of
India over Land, i, 142. Trade
 not understood by *Seva Gi*,
 ii, 58
- No travelling in *India* without a
 Guard, i, 302
- Treasure centres in *India*, i, 283.
- Treasure amass'd by 'Trade,
 ii, 58
- Trees bending indicate the Con-
 stancy of the Wind, ii, 311
- Trumpets of the *Moors* sound
 dreadfully, i, 213. Trumpets
 of *Seva Gi* more tuneable than
 the *Moors*, i, 313
- Turnadoes* productive of Storms,
 i, 47
- Twilight in the *Torrid Zone* but
 little, the reason, i, 143
- Tyrannical Government in *India*
 as necessary to keep them
 under, as abstaining from
 Flesh, and washing their
 Bodies, to keep them in health,
 ii, 115
- Tyrants trust those least are most
 allied, iii, 37

V

- Vainglory of an entire Founder,
ii, 169
Vasquez de Gama the First Discoverer of the *East-Indies*,
i, 161
Venetians raised their State and Grandeur by Over-land Trade from *Calicut*, i, 142. *Venetians* decline in Trade since the *Portugals* Discovry to the *East Indies*, i, 142
 Venom of Malice and Insinuation, ii, 64
 Viceroy of *Goa*, ii, 15
 Victory dearly purchased, ii, 46
 Villanage exercised by the *Portugals*, i, 182
Virgil's Account of *Dido* is false, ii, 18
Visiapour the greatest Mart for small Diamonds, ii, 25. *Visiapour* Kingdom, its Extent, ii, 50

- Vortobeds*, Armenian Monks, profess Celibacy, ii, 264
 Voyages made in Six Months by observing the Trade-Winds, which were wont to require so many Years, i, 33

W

- Religious Wars are cruel, when to kill our Fellow-Creatures is thought a Service to God, ii, 156
 Washings too much presumed on to purify Sins, iii, 32. Washing the Feet an hospitable Entertainment, i, 185. Washing before Meals, i, 94. Wash at Easements, i, 94

- Watch in Garisons call on one another, i, 313
 Water made sitting, ii, 120; iii, 149. Water defiled if any dead Carkass have fallen into it, ii, 169. Water reckoned good or bad, as we do Air, i, 139. Water the clearer the better, ii, 330. Water characterized, ii, 342 f. *Thames* Water apt to take Fire, kecps longest, i, 60
 Water-Snakes on the Coast of *India*, i, 127
 Wealth of the Subjects falls into the Kings hands at their Death, i, 83. Wealth a necessary Adjunct attained by a few, i, 181. Wealth centres in *India*, ii, 96
 Dancing Wenches common Whores, ii, 18. Dancing Wenches sacred to their Gods, i, 118
 Wheat the best at *Esduchos*, ii, 234
 Wheelbarrows sail laden with Salt on the Isle of *Maio*, i, 38
 Whirlwinds from the Mountains hurl Men and Oxen to the bottom, i, 318
 White Men expect observance, ii, 27
 Whoring in *India* a point of Manhood, i, 84
 Wild Beasts entrapp'd. i, 147
 Winds sent before the Rains, to qualify the Heat, i, 300. Winds why they shrink on the Coast of *Guinea*, i, 47
 Wine odious to *Musselman*, ii, 53 f. Wines turn Vinegar, for want of Cure, ii, 203. Wine in Hot Countries makès ill Nurses, i, 179 f.

- Winter at the *South Cape*, i, 49f. Winter and Summer how varied, i, 50. Winter at the *Mauritius*, i, 152
- Wives burn with their dead Husbands, i, 95, 256; ii, 18
- Women in *India* quick in Labour, i, 288. Women of Repute converse not with the Men, but transact their Affairs by themselves, ii, 277f. Women ride astride, ii, 281. Women coop'd up, ii, 296. Women that burn not with their dead Husbands, despised, ii, 117. Women set on to complain, iii, 131. Women cabal not in *Persia*, iii, 127. Women held to be $\alpha\psi\chi\alpha\iota$, iii, 127. Women how purified, i, 237 f. Women married but once, i, 88f. Women strictly guarded, i, | 328. Women carry Water, and do the Drudgeries of the House, ii, 118. Indecent to strike a Woman, iii, 107
- Worms breed in Human Bodies, ii, 175
- Y
- Year, its Seasons varied by the Specifiek Determinations of Winds, &c., ii, 355 f.
- Yearly Seasons in *India*, ii, 93 f.
- Z
- Zamerhin* not brooking the *Portugals* as Inmates, they removed to *Goa*, i, 142
- Zeal blinds and warms, ii, 37
- Zeal of former Ages thought no Labour enough to express their Love to the Deity, i, 339

INDEX

- A**BAGARES, King of Edessa, his letter, ii, 289.
ABAS. *See* SHAW ABAS.
ABASSEE, ABCEE, ANSEE, a Persian coin, iii, 152.
ABASSINS, ABASSINIANS, Abyssinians, ii, 190, 271; iii, 180.
ABCEE, a Persian coin, iii, 65. *See* ABASSEI.
ABDUL CAUN, Afzal Khān, ii, 61, 62.
AB GI PUNDIT, i, 205.
ABLUTIONS, ceremonial, of Muhammadans, iii, 30.
ABRAHAM RUSIDIANUS, ii, 267.
ABRAHMEK, a Turkish coin, iii, 152.
ABSEE, a coin, i, 143. *See* ABASSEI.
ABUREQUER, AHUBLZAR, Abū Bakr, the first Khalifah, iii, 46.
ABULZIN, King of Tartary, iii, 45.
ACCOMPANI, in the East India Service staff at Suat, i, 215.
ACEPHALI, the sect of, ii, 266, 267.
ACHAR, a kind of pickle, i, 234, 297, 327, ii, 28, 74, 84; iii, 147.
ACHEEN, ACHIN, i, 121; ii, 30; queen of, i, 121; coins and weights at, ii, 134 f.
ADAMS, J., i, 169.
ADIR SOPHI, Sufice, iii, 45, 46, 47, 58.
ADMIRAL, the flag-ship of a fleet, i, Introd. viii, 71, 102; ii, 2; of the North, i, 190.
ADMIRANTE, VICE ADMIRANTE, fleet commander at Goa, ii, 20.
ADUL CAUN, SHAW, ii, 48, 54, 55, 64.
ĀDE, the 'Id festival of Muhammadans, i, 273; ii, 333; Bobba Shajaw-hdeen, iii, 142; Chudeel, iii, 141; Corboon, iii, 141.
AFFLAION, Plato, in, 73.
AGAI, the agate stone, ii, 97, 148; the moss, ii, 147.
AGA LOCKE, Aghā, Taqī, ii, 207.
AGOADA, AQUADA, a watering-place, an aqueduct, i, 184, 189; ii, 7, 21; a fort at Goa, ii, 7, 9.
AGRA, ii, 119; iii, 159; trade in India with, i, 220; coins, weights and measures at, ii, 125 f.
AGrippa, Cornelius, iii, 87.
AIROON, Īān, iii, 18.
ALACOPPE, a gate at Ispahan, iii, 60.
ALAH ADI'S SHAW, scandal regarding his birth, ii, 55.
ALAJAH, a kind of silk and cotton cloth, ii, 113.
ALAMODL, *à la mode*, i, 6.
ALBECOR, ALPICORR, a kind of fish, i, 36, 50.
ALBERROSSI, the albatross, i, 51.
ALBUQUERQUI, Lewis Mendosa de, Viceroy of Goa, ii, 16.
ALCHORAN, ALCOKAN, the Quīān, censured, iii, 114; oaths taken on, iii, 105; "timure" of, iii, 94; read at funerals, i, 238.
ALCHYMY, in Persia, iii, 54.
ALDEA, a villa, i, 185, 190, 308; ii, 21, 84.
ALEPPO, i, 142; ii, 164; weights at, ii, 139.
ALLANDER the Great, supposed excavator of the Kānheī caves, i, 187 f.; gun made by, i, 191; vanquishes Darius, iii, 44; in Persia, ii, 219, 226; conquers Poros, ii, 89.
ALGA, seaweed, iii, 187 f.
ALGIBRA, studied, in Persia, iii, 85.
ALGERELNS, the, iii, 187.
ALGIMA, the, of Ptolemy, iii, 70.

- AIKANA, henna, iii, 122.
 ALIGATOR, the, i, 145; charming of, i, 145f., 292, 297; seldom attacks cattle, i, 297. *See CROCODIL.*
 ALLUH, a kind of medicinal bark, i, 263.
 AIIY, 'Ali, the sword of, iii, 60. *See MORTIS AIIY.*
 AIMANACK, the man in the, i, 274.
 ALMOND tree, the, ii, 202, 229
 ALWOOD, a weight, ii, 130; iii, 200.
 ALOLS, from Johanna and Socotra, i, 68, wood, ii, 162; iii, 135.
 ALPHONSO, Martin, i, 190.
 AMADAVAD, AMIDAVAD, Ahmadābad, i, 220; ii, 159, 170; avadavat birds, i, 291; the capital of Gujarat, i, 301; coins, weights and measures at, ii, 125ff.
 AMBREVIA, a Roman festival, ii, 80.
 AMBASSADORS, mode of their reception in the Persian Court, iii, 52.
 AMBEGĀN, Ambegān, i, 321, 343.
 AMBERGRIFCE, AMBLRGRLZ, ambergris, i, 54, 68, 129, 220; ii, 142; iii, 137.
 AMETHYST, amethyst, the stone, ii, 148.
 AMPHIBRNA, amphibrena, the, i, 98.
 A MUCK, running, i, 230.
 AMUSEMENTS in the Karnatak, ii, 68ff.
 ANANAS, the pine apple, i, 59; ii, 84.
 ANAIOMY, ignorance in India, i, 287; in Persia, iii, 94, 97.
 ANCHOA, Ankola, ii, 2, 31, 32.
 ANDERSON, P., *The English in Western India*, i, Introd. xxvif.
 ANDREWS, Matthew, President of Svat, i, 211, 223.
 ANDREW, Captain T., i, Introd. xiv, 7.
 ANGLDIVA, ANJEDIVA, Anjidiva Island, i, 151, 163. ii, 29, 41.
 ANGUILLIS, ANGUILIS, Cabo das Agulhas, i, 54; iii, 179.
 ANIAN, Hainau, ii, 365.
 ANIMALS, combats of, ii, 242; Muhammadan mode of slaying, i, 68.
 "ANN," "ANAL, the ship, i, Introd. xiv, 7, 53, 74
 ANNA GI PUNDIT, iii, 168.
 "ANTELOPE," "ANTHOP," the ship, i, Introd. xiv, 7, 74, 122.
 ANTELOPES, hunting of by leopards, i, 279f.; in South India, i, 96, 120; ii, 98; in Persia, ii, 244.
 ANTICIRISI, iii, 46.
 ANTIMONY applied to the eyes, ii, 118; used as a purge, ii, 328.
 ANTIPARISTASIS, i, 181.
 ANIS, plague of, ii, 99; feeding of, i, 278.
 APR, the, i, 186, 317; ii, 195. *See JACKANAPE.*
 APOLLINARDCCI, the sect, ii, 267.
 APOTHECARIES, their methods in Persia, iii, 96.
 APPLES, candied in ice, ii, 174; in Persia, ii, 309.
 AQUADA. *See AGOADA.*
 ARAN, horses imported, i, 282; ii, 58, 156; prices of, i, 295; pirates, i, 299.
 ARABIA, cloth and needlework of, i, 63. meaning of the name, ii, 155.
 ARABS from Maskat and the Persian Gulf, i, 192, 299; ii, 151.
 ARAC, 'Iraq, iii, 18.
 ARACH, acacia nut, i, 110; a plant, Oiach, ii, 336. *See ARRACH.*
 ARACH, ARACK, native spirits, i, 313, 319; ii, 28. *See FOOL RICK.*
 ARAKAN, pirates from, ii, 153.
 ARAM, ii, 289.
 ARARAT, Mt., ii, 263; iii, 15.
 ARASIARCES, ii, 264.
 ARAV, the river, ii, 219, 228.
 ARBACES, iii, 43.
 ARBOR DE RUS, a tree, i, 265: ii, 337.
 ARBOR FRISTIS, a tree, i, 116, 350.
 ARCHANGELO, Archangel, ii, 361.
 ARELINE, ARLEIN, Pietro Aretino, i, 108; iii, 51.
 ARISIOILE, studied in Persia, iii, 68.
 ARITHMETIC, in India, ii, 103; in Persia, iii, 85.
 ARMADO, ARMADA, i, 193; of North and South, i, 153; ii, 20, 41.
 ARMENIANS, the, i, Introd. xxiii; admission into the Church, ii, 274; amulets used against witchcraft, ii,

- 274 appearance of, 290 beliefs, 270f first of the Birth and Baptism of Our Saviour, II 275 Calendar of, 267, helps to ensure health of cattle, II, 286 church in Persia, II, 261 clerics, II 272 ff death rites, II, 286ff Eucharist, II 271f fasting, II, 282ff Hesitation II 285 French II 346 gurken II Surat, I, 253 killing the ghos II 288 history of, II, 283f in South India, I, 96 Jacobite Christians II, 270 at Julfa II, 249 253 at Lur, II, 209 marriage rites, II, 276ff at Masulipatam, I, 91, 96 Patriarch II, 269 penance, II, 265 religious rites, II, 270f mode of salvation, I 88 stone, in 10 traders in Persia, II, 249 water, blessing of, II 275 one whipped for wine selling, I 244
- ARMIES, of Moghul emperors, II 111
- AKRACH, arcca-nut, II, 53 See AKRCH
- ARRAS, a kind of plaster "loam," I, 255
- ARROWS shot back wards in Parthian fashion II 242 III, 57, 134
- ARTAVALIS III, 44
- ARTAVANUS, III 44
- ARTAXERXES III 44
- ARTIBAVANIS II 227
- ARTICHOLES in Persia II, 310
- ARTIFICERS, insolence of, I, 82 III 101
- ARTILLERY of the Moghuls, I, 338 II, 112
- ARTISANS, II, 108
- AKUNDDEH, a state in India, I, 87
- ASIA, a name among the Persians, II, 257, III, 144
- ASCENSION ISLAND III, 154
- ASDKUAT, brother of Hannibal, invents the elephant goad I, 271
- ASHMEY, Jag seceret, II, 36
- ASMIRE, Ajmer, III, 171
- ASOPH ADUL SHAW, II, 55
- ASIAKACUS, at Surat, I, 298 in Persia, II, 310
- ASS, the, wild in India, II, 207, skins, those of the zebra, I, 290, flesh eaten, III, 97
- ASSTOFLIDA II 1951, III, 15 See HIN
- ASSEF ISIM, I 71 174 32* 335
- "ASSETIANI, the 1 ap 1 Introd xii
- ASTIAS II, 231, 347
- ASTUL, cult II Arim, III 169
- ASTOLAIK the 1 47 III 35f
- ASTROLOGY, in India II 102 in Persia, III 88f
- ASTRONOMY in Persia, III 541, 93
- ATLAS & Scythian Lion, II, 66
- AIE HI ULFRINCI syphilis, in Persia, II 98
- ATLAS a kind of yellow cloth, I, 220, II 113
- ATLAMIRIN hot springs, II 346
- ATLUJI THE THE II, 24
- ATUKA, in Icaisa III 86
- ATURCAU, Amhegona, I, 321
- ATYIER Gurd, his convention, I, Irrtol VIII his circle, I 155, 169, 223, 307, III, 199, his death, I, Intro VIII II 514
- AURANGZIB See AUREN /111
- ATREYABAD Amherabad III, 169
- AUREN/LIB the Emperor Aurangzib, I, 340 346, II, 110 prohibits the Mithram celebrations, I, 27, f conquest of the Deccan, II, 49f at Junnar as a lalir I 321, II 50, his name for Shivaji, II, 59
- AYADAYIR bulls, I, 291
- AVIROE, authority on medicine in Persia, III, 97
- AVICENNA, Avicenni authority on medicine in Icaisa III 97
- AVIMUIN, the, I, 49
- AVOKA, the, III, 188
- BAGH Bassam, I, 191 ff, 159 210, 308
- BAGHII, a means of ventilation, II, 159f III, 16 See VIVILOSO
- BADNIGUR, Bhagnagur, II 44
- BADUR CAUN, Bahadur Khan, I, 325 329, 340, 344, II, 46
- BALTA cloth from Lorch, I, 220
- BAGNAGUR, Bhagnagur, II, 46
- BAINBRIGG, Mr 1 Introd xii
- BAICAOI, Balaghat I, 201 II, 57 73

- BALISOI, 1, 106.
 BALIS, game of tossing, 1, 89; iii, 191.
 BALM, grown in Persia, ii, 310.
 BALFOO, a bath, ii, 251, 333; iii, 32.
 BALOO, BALU, "an overgrown wolf," 1, 348; ii, 98; iii, 200.
 BALOON, a barge, 1, 182; ii, 7, 9, 19, 21, 24, 30, 39, 85.
 BALSORI, Balsar, 1, 210, ii, 58.
 BALMUN, the, ii, 73 f.; bent for supports of palanquins, 1, 97; ii, 74.
 BAND, of the President of Mysat, 1, 218.
 BAND MUY, Bind 1 Ali, ii, 177, 324.
 Banderia, ii, 219 f.
 BANDRENE, Bindene, a grower of coco palms, militia at Bombay, 1, 171, 173, 178.
 BANDICOORAT, the, 1, 291.
 BANDORA, Bandil, 1, 183 f.
 BANG, *bang*, the hemp intoxicant, 1, 92, 230, 262 f., 313, 315; ii, 113; iii, 100.
 BANKSOII, *bankshall*, a warehouse, "custom-house key," 1, 80, 90, 91.
 BANNIR, of Agent at Madras, 1, 107; at Surat, 1, 218; English in Persia, ii, 159; of Nail Wherry, ii, 37.
 BANIAN, Agency at, 1, 124, 219; coins and weights at, ii, 133; fowls, i, 290; heir of, i, 268; massacre at, ii, 315.
 BANIAN, the Banya trading caste, ii, 107 f.; 1, 192, 197, 211, &c *passim*; regard for animal life, 1, 211; largess to an ascetic, ii, 337; love of cheating, 1, 281; dealers in diamonds, 1, 285; feast of, 1, 197; fight, 1, 281; language, ii, 122; mischance, 1, 302; in Persia; ii, 167, 216; iii, 37, 118; at Surat, 1, 215, 221, 255; worship of the sea spirit, 1, 107; servility of, 1, 341; ii, 159; objection to display their wealth, 1, 245 f.
 BANYAN tree, the, 1, 260, 265; ii, 78, 337.
 BAOBAB tree, the, 1, 59.
 BAPIISM, repudiated by the Muhammadans, iii, 76 f.; among Armenians, ii, 274.
 BAQARAH ID feast, the, iii, 138.
 BARBADOS, the, iii, 182.
- PAPERS, trade of, ii, 109; physicians, ignorance of, i, 287.
 BARBIERS, a disease, 1, 179; iii, 194.
 BARI TA. *See* BURITA.
 BARGAINING, silent, 1, 282.
 BARMUCH, Küh-i-Barmah, Bābak, iii, 12.
 "BARNARDISION," the Ship, 1, Introd vi, 53.
 BASS, BASSE, Capt W., 1, Introd vii. 7
 BASSI, the, of Bussorah, 1, 283 f.; executed, ii, 46.
 BASSARAE LAIC, ii, 41.
 BASSAU, Basidu, ii, 361.
 BASLIV. *See* BACEIN.
 BASSINADO, the, iii, 105, 107.
 BATAVIA, a Dutch factory, 1, 124; Batavians, Dutch, 1, 75.
 BATIS, hot, 1, 149; ii, 95, 346; iii, 12.
 BATIS, of enormous size, ii, 99.
 BATHKAL, Bhatkal, 1, 149.
 BATIT, a naval, 1, Introd. viii.
 BATIV, rice, "seeds of grass," 1, 174, 311.
 BAZAR. *See* BUZZAR.
 BLADS, the use of, 1, 259; ii, 38. *See* ROSARIES.
 BEANS, grown in Persia, ii, 341.
 BEAR, the, 1, 96; ii, 98.
 BEARD, the mode of wearing, ii, 108 f.; placed in pawn, ii, 151.
 BEDMUR, Bednur, ii, 41.
 BLEI, not to be bought in South India, ii, 69.
 BEESER, Belsai, 1, 321.
 BEES, in Persia, iii, 9.
 BELLE, betel nut, 1, 110, 119, 136, 143, 151; ii, 42, 83, 96.
 BEGGARS, the garden of, ii, 209; bold and lusty at Surat, 1, 229, 241; discouraged in Persia, iii, 125; cutting themselves with knives, ii, 77.
 BEGUL, Beg, a title of honour, iii, 116.
 BELGIANS, Dutch, ii, 371; iii, 37, 201.
 BELLY-RIPPING, 1, 299; ii, 326, 350.
 BENGALA, ii, 97; Bay of, 1, 106; factory at, 1, 106.
 "BENGALIA MERCHANT," the ship, 1, Introd. viii.

- BENGALI, Bangalore, II, 60
 BENJI grass, I, 312
 BERGAW, Varro, III, 158
 BERENJEW, the Lintjal, I, 263
 "BLAKKIV CASILE," the ship, I, Introd. xxii, II, 86
 "BLAKKARDISION," the ship, I, Introd. xxii, 53
 BERNIER, I, I, Introd. xxv
 BERSANIANS, the, II, 267
 BIR, beet, in Persia, II, 310
 BETU, Betim, II, 8
 BEUNOYIA, Boi Vista Island, I, 37f
 BEZOIR stone th., II, 141, 193, 363,
 III, 99 how produced, II, 200, best
 found at Shirvanit, III, 15, food of
 the goats, II, 322
 BHANG See BANG
 BIGGLERLEN, big II, 1 porter, II, 31
 BIJAIUK See VASIAPOUK
 BILHIM, "a schismatic," a Muslim
 madan sect I, 234
 BILINGATE, scurrilous abuse, I, 215
 BIMI, Bhiwdi, I, 315, II, 68
 BINDAMIRI the Bandarun river, II,
 218, 225, 319, 346
 BIKAM, Bahim, a Parsi name, II, 257
 BIRDS, in India, I, 298 II, 96, of the
 sea, I, 127, II, 153, struck down by
 the heat, I, 99, timeness of, on
 Ascension Island, III, 184f
 BIKH customs in India and Persia, I,
 237f, III, 130
 BISMARIA, a plant, I, 263
 BISON, so called in India, the Gaur,
 I, 147
 BISSA ALAH ADDI SHAW, II, 55
 BISTRIL, /zis/, a copper coin, II, 153
 BLACKMORT PULLIN, I, 140
 BLACKMORG, MI J., III, 181
 BLACKWEIL HILL, II, 249
 BLINDING largely used at Gol, II, 14,
 150
 BILWODIIR, the flower in Persia,
 II, 310
 BLINDING of hens to the Persian
 throne, III, 37, blindness in Persia,
 II, 170, 203
 BLOCKAOL, a fort, I, 80
 BLOOD, showers of, III, 165
 BLOODY POINT, I, 224 II, 194
 BLUBBLE, the earvil or ruling fish,
 medusa, I, 179
 BLUCOON boys, in the East India
 Company's service, I, 216
 BOARS, wild, II, 96, 270 II, 98
 BOATS in the Persian Gulf, II, 360f
 BOBBA Hotel Bala Han, II, 208,
 320
 BOCCA MORIS, a blunderbus, II, 26
 BOOI ARMENIAC, III 10
 BOOM YIM, Bombus, fly of, I, 154, the
 Island, I, 159, ceded to the British,
 I, 161 the Church I, 173 coins
 and weights used at, II, 131, derivation
 of the name, I, 160, English
 women at, I, 179, freedom granted
 to the natives, I, 181, garden at, I,
 165, excellence of the harbour, I,
 160, President of, I, 178, silt, I,
 175 seven islands, I, 158 factory
 subject to China, I, 220 tanks, I,
 173, unhealthiness of, I, 178f, water
 supply I, 173
 "BOMBAY," "BOOM YIM," "BOMBAY
 MICHANI," the ship, I, Introd.
 xxv, 7, 122 II, 2
 BOMBAY Mombasa I, 353 II 23
 BONAI 5 & BOM YIM
 BOMBAY DUCK, the, I, 173 See BUM-
 BIO
 BONAI the banana fruit, I, 110
 BONARES Benares II, 37
 BONAI, Bindu, II, 195, 322, 359
 PONAVISA ISLAND, I, Introd. xx
 BOND, restoration of, in Persia, III,
 109f
 BOOTS found in foundations, omen
 from, III, 21
 BOVY SILKANVO, Cape, II, 182
 BOVFO, a fish, I, 36, 50
 BOV JESU, Church at Gol, II, 12
 BOOKS and bookmen in Persia, III,
 64ff
 BORNO, people found in, II, 365, 366
 BORRAGI, a herb in Persia, II, 10
 BORRAH, the Bohri caste, I, 234
 BOVIA, Ishant, II, 97
 LOJNROI, the Bhonsla Marathas
 family, II, 60

- Bow, the ring of, 1, 336, iii, 57, made of horn, 1, 249; ii, 111; iii, 57
- BOWANI, the goddess Bhavani, 1, 200.
- BRACHMIN, a Brähmin, ii, 100 ff., their abhorrence of blood sacrifices, ii, 80, their sacred cord, ii, 39, 101; gifts to, 1, 205, in favour with the Mahrattas, ii, 3, 66, 101; law against striking them, ii, 4; tortures inflicted on, ii, 4; at Surat, 1, 255, University at Gokarun, ii, 33. See BUJI, SINVI.
- BRAMPORE, Burhānpur, iii, 161, 165
- BRAND GLASS, 1, 298
- BREAD-MAKING, ii, 118 f
- BREAKING A VEN, 1, 230
- BRIDLS, purchased in Persia, iii, 106, procession of, iii, 129.
- BRIDGES, at Gor, ii, 9; at Ispahān, ii, 240, 294, at Masulipatam, 1, 81; at Shirāz, ii, 214 f., on the Shor river, ii, 252
- BRIMSTONE, iii, 10
“BRITROON,” “Bleton,” a ship, 1, 102, iii, 191
- BROACH, subordinate to Surat factory, iii, 155; Bāstī cloth from, 1, 220; gate at Surat, 1, 252, river of, iii, 159
- BROADCLOTH, English, worn in Persia, iii, 121.
- BROWN, BROWN, Capt Z, 1, Introd. xiv, 7.
- BROWN, Sir T, 1, Introd. xviii, iii, 114
- BUSHIO, rotten fish, 1, 143, 179
- BUCHANNO, BUCHANNA, BU CHANNO, buchanne, “in ascent covered with cipat,” a floor cloth, 1, 324, 343, iii, 144.
- BUCKHOUNDS, Irish, ii, 339, 351
- BUDHISI cives at Kanheri, 1, 186 ff., at Junnu, 1, 339
- BUROLA, the buffalo, 1, 296 f., beef of inferior quality, 1, 296, fighting, 1, 280, used for carrying water, 1, 295; used for working wells, ii, 94; wild, 186
- BUGSHOE, bugshah, “a Cloak Bag,” “a portmantle,” a bundle, iii, 133.
- BUIBS, in Persia, ii, 310 f.
- BUGAR, Bulgaria leather, ii, 250; iii, 135
- BULGING, of a ship, ii, 88.
- BULIS, wild, i, 147, ii, 98
- BULLU, CAUN, Bahlo Khān, ii, 5, 44, 45, 46, 47, 55, 56, 64
- BUNNY tree, the wild plum, ii, 201.
- BUMFLO, a fish, the Bombay Duck, 1, 173.
- BUNCO, “tobacco,” a cheroot, 1, 135.
- BUNDER, bandar. a quay, harbour, 1, 289, 329, 352, ii, 313; Abassee, Gombroon, ii, 158, 173, 191, iii, 64; Congo, ii, 191, iii, 14 f., Reek, ii, 191, 320
- BURDOCK, a herb in Persia, ii, 310.
- BURGA, BARITA, Barvi, 1, 254, 347.
- BURGESS, Capt., 1, 169.
- BURROW MOGUL PODESHAR, Basa Mughal Padishah, the Great Mogul, ii, 110
- BURKOWS, Rev. H, 1, 172
- BURSE, an exchange, ii, 193, 241
- BUKTOV, R, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1, Introd. xxv.
- BURI, BUIS, ii, 198, 323
- BUSEROOK, a coin, 1, 139.
- BUSSERAH, BUSSORAH, Bassa, the Bassa of, 1, 283 f., ii, 46, arrival of a fleet from, 1, 283; coins and weights used at, ii, 137 f.; turtle-doves, 1, 291
- BUJI, a kind of Brähman, ii, 38, 100
- BURIER, at Surat, 1, 297; old held in repute, 1, 337. See GHIL
- BURIAK, a bārār, at Anchola, ii, 32, Calicut, 1, 142, Gokarn, ii, 34, Is pahān, ii, 243, 248, 249, iii, 21, 26, Jelfa, ii, 307, Masulipatam, 1, 81; Oppagat, 1, 321, Phalapatam, 1, 145, Shuaz, ii, 211 f., Surat, 1, 248, Vingurla, ii, 18; mode of regulation of, in Persia, iii, 24
- BIRAN, Bhiem, ii, 365.
- CABBAGE, the, in Persia, ii, 310
- CABLES DE SQUADRON, ii, 20
- CABO DA BOA ESPERANÇA, Cape of Good Hope, 1, 50 f., Nos SIGNIOR

- DI, a fort at Goa, II, 8, 21. *See CAPE BOU ESPERANZO.*
- CABOB, *kabob*, roast meat served on a skewer, III, 146.
- CABUI, CAU^N. Qābil Khān, III, 171.
- CADI, CADY, the Qāzi, a Muhammadan judge, I, 93; III, 77, 102. *See CAZY.*
- "CAESAR," the ship, I, Introd. VIII, XV, 7, 53.
- CAFFA, Kaffa, II, 292.
- CAIFAR, CAITER, Khafre, II, 206, 321, 341.
- CAIR, con., I, 302; II, 21.
- CAIRO, GRAND, II, 156.
- CAJAN, "a bough of a Toddy-tree," the palm-leaf, I, 60, 136, 144.
- CALABASH, a gourd, I, 59.
- CALAMINTH, the plant, II, 120.
- CALENTURE, a sever, I, 48, 286; *kalantai*, a bailiff, clerk of the market, II, 204, 357; III, 24, 118.
- CALICUT, I, Introd. XVIII, 141 ff.; calico cloth painted or fine, I, 78, 79, 90, 96, 100, 220, 221, 323; capital of the Zamorin, I, 133; trade at, I, 220; weights and measures used at, II, 131. *See ZAMERIN.*
- CAIIPHISHP, the Caliphate, II, 156.
- CAILAPLI, "the breast-plate of the tortoise," I, 305.
- CAILIPLI, "the hut of the tortoise," I, 305.
- CAMBIA, CAMBIA, bry and kingdom of Cambay, II, 97, 370; III, 2: Emperor of, I, 300; II, 151.
- CAMBYSLS, II, 222; III, 44.
- CAMELS, at Suiat, I, 250; carrying swivel guns, I, 271; a disease caused by riding, I, 272; in a state of sexual excitement, II, 317; flesh eaten, III, 97; slain at a festival, III, 141.
- CAMERT, *qamari*, a kind of almanack, III, 86.
- CANAMORE, Cannanore, Dutch factory at, I, 144.
- CANARA, Kanara, the Protector of, I, 151.
- CANAREEN, a native of Kanaia, I, 150. *See CANOREIN.*
- CANATICK, the Karnātak, II, 32; boundaries of, II, 41, 65; diseases of, II, 84; language of, II, 103; Ranna of, II, 40; III, 198.
- CANDAHAR, Kandahar, II, 51, 90, 265.
- CANDIES, wax for making, I, 297; II, 28.
- CANHAM, Mr. "a Committee," I, Introd. VIII.
- CAVISTER, a basket trunk, I, 316; II, 179.
- CANO, CANOOSE, a canoe, I, 65, 140; II, 21.
- CANORA, Kanara, II, 41, 46, 57.
- CANOREIN, Salsette Island, I, Introd. XII, 159, 160, 183 ff., 192, 194, 332; vegetables grown at, I, 189; the people of Kanaia, II, 27; III, 198; their language, "the primitive of Indostan," II, 42. *See CANARLEN.*
- CAPE BOU ESPERANZO, Cape of Good Hope, II, 9. *See CABO DA BOA ESPERANÇA.*
- CAPHAI A, CAPHIAY, *kifilah*, a caravan a convoy, I, 221, 282, 295, 302, 320, 346; II, 20, 58, 107, 150, 164, 180, 186, 190, 220, 228, 250, 347, 354; III, 27, 156.
- CAPHALA BASHLE, */âfilah bîshî*, the leader of a caravan, II, 348.
- CAPPER shub, the, II, 230.
- CAPS, worn by kings and Magi of Persia, III, 52.
- CAPULHIN Convent at Surat, I, 225; at Goa, II, 22.
- CARACALLA, II, 44.
- CARAVANDAR, the leader of a caravan, II, 340, 341.
- CARAVAN Sir RAW, *kârwan sarî*, a hostelry, I, 250 *et passim*; derivation of the word, II, 178.
- CARDAMOMS, I, 135, 147; II, 162, 230.
- CARMANIA, II, 253; III, 18, cities of, III, 15; goats, II, 369; wool, I, 219; II, 164, 369; III, 8; assafœuda brought from, II, 196
- CARMELITE COLLEGE AT GOA, II, 13; a friar, II, 320, 344, 346.
- CARNOPLY, Kangapalli, I, 132.
- CARPETS, from South India, I, 96; in Persia, II, 162, 248.

- CARRACK, a cargo vessel, i, 153, 224; ii, 9.
- CARROTS, grown in Persia, ii, 310.
- CARVIL, "a sailing fish," the jelly-fish, i, 179.
- CARWAR, Kärwär, i, 151; ii, 2f., 25, 29, 68; Chief of, ii, 2; iii, 197; English house at, ii, 2; Fijer visits, ii, 85; river of, ii, 30; trade in cloth, i, 220; in pepper, betelnut and arrack, ii, 43, 83; attacked by Sivaji, i, 151 f.
- CASBIN, Kasvin, iii, 15.
- CASH, a copper coin, i, 96, 106, 149.
- CASPION SEA, the, ii, 313; iii, 13, 88; salmon from, ii, 302.
- CASSAWAR, a cassowary, i, 291.
- CASSIA PISTULA, ii, 74; CASSIA LIGNUM, i, 135; ii, 74, 75; iii, 97.
- CAST, caste, i, 81, 94, 148, 288; ii, 19, 38, 113; distinguished by the mode of wearing the beard, etc., etc., ii, 108; by mode of wearing the turban, i, 288; refusal to eat with other castes, ii, 113.
- CASTLE BUZZAR, Käsimbázár, i, 106.
- CASTLE SOAP, ii, 109.
- CASTRO, John de, Portuguese Viceroy, ii, 151.
- CAT, wild, the catamountain, ii, 98.
- CATAMARAN, CAITAMARAN, a raft of logs, i, 74, 114.
- CATHERINE, Queen of England, i, 161.
- CATUB CAUN, Qutb Shâh, ii, 48.
- CATWAL, kotwâl, "a sheriff," a police officer in charge of a city, i, 245, 246; ii, 48; his rounds by night at Surat, i, 246.
- CAULAN, Quilon, i, 132.
- CAUN, Khân, a title of office, i, 312 *et passim*; of Bunder Abassee, ii, 173; of Ispahân, iii, 22; of Brampore, iii, 161.
- CAURESTAN, Kuristân, ii, 187, 188.
- CAUSABAR, monastery at, ii, 268.
- CAUSES, doctrine of, in Persia, iii, 69f.
- CAUTERY, use of the, i, 286.
- CAVALRY, the Moghul, i, 342.
- CAZY, Qâzi, a Muhammadan judge, i, 237, 240, 241, 242; iii, 24, 101. See CADJ.
- CEDGWAY, a litter. *See KEDGWAY.*
- CEYLON, Ceylon, i, 71, 72, 129; ii, 365; taken and abandoned by the French, i, 53, 113f.; Dutch factory,
- CENTIPEDES, ii, 341.
- CHALCEDON, Synod of, ii, 266, 267, 268.
- CHAMBER, a small piece of ordnance, ii, 17.
- CHAMBERLAIN, Chambrelin, Caesar, i, Introd. xxv; iii, 176.
- CHAMELEON, the, i, 111; ii, 341.
- CHAMESI, shamsî, a kind of almanac, iii, 86.
- CHAMPORE, Champâ, cocks from, i, 290 f.
- CHANQUO, sankh, a conch-shell, ii, 366.
- CHAPPEL-VAILEY, in St. Helena, iii, 182.
- CHARASAN, Khurasân, iii, 18. *See KORASIN.*
- CHARLES I, King of England, i, Introd. xxxiii, ii, 320.
- CHARMS for the cure of disease, i, 288.
- CHAST ALLY, 'Ali revered by the Shi'ah sect, ii, 178.
- CHAUGO, the Chagos Islands, iii, 177.
- CHAUR BAUG, Chahâr Bâgh, at Is-pahân, ii, 241, 294, 301.
- CHAWBUCK, châbuk, a whip, i, 247; "chawbucked," whipped, i, 244, 267.
- CHAWTALK, Châhtalkh, ii, 200, 201, 340, 341, 352.
- CHEATING, by Banyans, i, 281.
- CHECK, a clamp to support a boat, i, 65.
- CHEEK, chig, "painted bents, tied artificially to deceive the sight," a screen-blind, i, 214, 231.
- CHLESE, at Surat, i, 297.
- CHEMISTRY, CHYMISRY, studied in Persia, iii, 84, 94.
- CHERIPO, chippî, a sea shell, ii, 365.
- CHERRIES, in Persia, ii, 303.
- CHERSONESE, the Golden, iii, 365.
- CHERUSE, a kind of fruit, ii, 84.
- CHESS, i, 281.
- CHETORE, Chitor, iii, 170; capture of, iii, 172.

- CHIA the Shi'ih sect of Muhammadans, 1, 83, 86, 232, II, 48, 67, 112.
- CHIBLOVI Chiplun, 1 198
- CHID Sir J., 1, Introd. xxv, III, 177
- CHIKDKA, baptism of by Armenians, II, 274, of Portuguese, running naked, II 28, naming of, III, 80, treatment of, II, 118, 259
- CHINA, vessel, II, 28 detect poison, I, 87, Chinese trade with Sumat, I, 219
- CHINAN, *chuan*, lime, I, 110, II, 96
- CHINCE See CHINI
- CHINSE, the, at Gon, II, 23f
- CHINOR, *chur*, *chanur*, the oriental plane tree, II, 239
- CHINI, CHINCL, a bug, I, 100, 231, II, 90
- CHINIS, CHINISI cloth, I, 220, made at Masulipatam, I, 90, imported from Asia, I, 220
- CHIKUKION, on the East India Company's staff, I, 216
- CHIRURGY, *chir*, an umbrella, II, 36
- CHIKUL, *chital*, the spotted deer, I, 185
- CHIFFR, *chitti*, a letter, pissa, I, 308, 313
- CHORDAR "a virgin a maceman employed in Indian Courts, I, 178, 325
- CHOCKI, CHOCKI, *chanki* a witch, toll station, I, 2, 2, 301, 332
- CHOICKI MORBUS, I, 255 II, 338 See MORDISHEN
- CHOI, *chhap*, a muk, to muk goods, I, 247
- CHOUL, Cneul, I, 151, 190, 198, Print I, 150
- CHOUJARY, *ehi ca h*, "a sort of state," a shed used for public purposes, receptions, etc., I, 108 211, 212 235, 247, 262, 305, 323, 336 II, 16, 35, 61, 120
- CHOUSE, a stand from which gun is shot, II, 70
- CHOWKRE, a shed, III, 156 See CHOCKIE
- CHIPASI, *Harar* *Tusva*, *Huzrat* *In*, III, 46
- CHRISTIANITY, insulted by Muhammadans, III, 82f
- CHRISTIANS in Cochin, I, 13b in Persia, III, 125
- CHRISTMAS festival at Goa, II, 8
- CHRYSOSTOM, John II, 265
- CHUDISIAN, Shulgitin, II, 317
- CHUVINOI Chihil Manir, minaret, II, 221, 222
- CHUFER, *chapu*, a horse post, II, 345 III, 40
- CHUILRY, *chupra lakk*, shells from Agri, I, 220
- CICKORY, chicory, in Persia, II, 310
- CIVATION, I, 132, mustard, II, 74, monopolized by the Dutch I, 132
- CINNABARI, Cinnabar, a preparation of mercury, I, 288
- CIRCUMCISION, I, 236, III, 80
- CITIES, of India, II, 119, of Persia, III, 15
- CIKKI, grown in Persia, II, 310
- CLEOPATRA, of Egypt, II, 366
- CLIMB of India, I, 99f II, 81f, 91
- CLOCK at Isphahan, II, 243
- CLOVEGILL flowers, II, 310
- CLOVIS, I, 132 essence of, II, 112
- COACHES of the East India Company I, 213 III, 157, not used in Isphahan, II, 307
- COBII *co iido*, a cubit, II, 127, 250, 281, III, 153 See COVID
- COCHIN COCHIN, I, 134, II, 365, Chin, II, 97, weights used at, II, 131
- COCKATOOS the, brought from Bantai I, 291
- COCKTAIL *chicach*, I, 74, 320
- COCKTAILING, II, 68f
- COCONUT, festival, I, 119 III, 194, tide in, I, 143, II, 21, offered in worship, II, 78, 79
- COCOBILY tree, the, I, 40f, 147, 176, II, 95, 182, leaves used for writing, I, 95, II, 103
- COFFEE, a judge in Persia, III, 101f
- COFFEE HOUSES in Persia, II, 251 295 III, 34 See COHO

- COFFERY, *lafn*, "a woollen panted Ne
glo, also an imbelchevi" 1, 62, 192,
230, 352, II, 5, 16, 23 52
 COGI, *khwajah*, a merchant, a man of
rank, a title of the Armenians, III, 117
 COHO, COHOR, *pahwa*, coffee, I, 219,
234, II, 162, 167, 295, III, 34
 COILS, the, a group of rocks, II, 157
 COINS in India II, 125 ft., in Persia,
II, 139
 COLA Colla, II 29
 COLEON, COLOON, *qalijun*, a water
piped, "a glass vessel," II, 259, III,
133, 136
 COLLAT, *collat ihiyat*, a robe of
honour, I, 223, II, 165, III, 139
 COLEGAS, at Isphahan, II, 252, III, 31,
145
 COLLAI See COLLAI
 COLOON See COLEON
 COQUINIA apple, the, II 341
 COGOROGOSKI, *pullai ghau*, chief of
the eunuchs, III, 56
 COI STALL, the, I, 256
 COIUM, *Iulang*, the great grey crane,
I, 260, 295, II, 304 354
 COIUMBRA, the Kunbi caste, I, 174
 See COMIY
 COLUMBO, I, 71
 COMBI, the Kunbi caste, I, 320, 347,
348, II, 5, 69, 70, 100, 108, *lambaria*,
a blanket, I, 140 See COUMLIBEE
 COMILIN Cape See COMORIN
 COMILRO Island, I, 58
 COMI SHAW Kumishah, II 237
 COMLI, the, of 1660, III, 174
 COMMANDNIS, the, inscribed in a
mosque, I, 351
 COMORIN, COMIRO, Comoro Island, I,
Introd vii 1 58
 COMORO, COMORA, COMOKY, COMURIN,
Cape, I, Introd viii, 71, 129, 312,
II, 48, 90, 365, 366
 CONACAROW, Khân i Khuré, II, 317
 CONACURGU, Khân i Kurgin, II, 318
 CONCHON, the Konkan, "the Nether
lands," I, 159, 206, II, 58, Conchany
language, II, 103
 COND, the rudder of a ship, II, 9, III,
197.
 CONCIL *Janj*, rice water, II, 122
 CONJL, *conje*, a bow of salutation 1,
42
 CONGO, CONGO BLANDER, I, Introd
viii, II, 325, 360
 CONSIAN LINOPLE, I, 142, 231, II, 164,
Council of, II, 266 See SAMBOLE
 COOKI, COOK, Humphrey, I, Introd
xviii, 163, 166
 COOKOO CHALLOW, *kuu chulan*, meat
covered with rice, III, 148
 COOI, *jul*, a rank in the Persian army,
III 62
 COOLI, Capt R, I, Introd vii, 7,
III, 176
 COOLY, *Kohi, juli*, one of the Kohi tribe,
a labourer, I, 97, 172, 301, 310, 312
317, 318, 347, II, 45, 100, 108
 COPPER, trade in, I, 219, mines, III,
12
 CORD, the brahmanical, II, 39, 101
 CORFA DE SAW, Portuguese Generalis
simo, II, 20
 CORFUR, *quchi*, a rank in the Persian
army, III, 62, Corgee Bashee, the
Adjutant General, III, 56, Coig
Nessi Tussi, III, 70, 72
 CORIANDER, grown in Persia, II, 311
 COKIAL, Tom, his tomb, I 253, III
195
 CORAMANDEL CORAMANDL, the Coro
mandel Coast, I, 71, 85, 106, 114,
131
 CORMOOT, Hoomur, II, 169, 323
 CORNETTAN stones, II, 97, 147
 CORNISH work, a cornice, I, 166
 COROMANDEL See CORMANDEL
 CORPSL, position of the Muhammadan
in battle, III, 146
 CORRUPTICULAE, the sect, II, 267
 CORVO Island, III 158
 CORY, Capt Comorn, I 71
 COSROFS, II, 349
 COSSAK, a Cosack, III, 88 f
 COLES, MI, I, 169
 COTSWILL, the Cotswold Hills II
369
 COTTON, in India, II, 96, in Persia II,
311, III, 8
 COURSE, a *los*, "a league," a measure

- of distance, 1, 85, 265, 279, 319, 321, 338, 340, 346; III, 155, 158.
- COURTESANS, CURTEZANS**, in India, II, 19; in Persia, III, 128, 129, 130
- COVEID** *See COBIR*
- COW**, forbidden to be killed, 1, 95, 98, 149; dung used as fuel and for plastering floors, 1, 111; II, 119; wild, II, 69.
- COWIS CAUN, Khawās Khān**, II, 5, 45, 53.
- COWRICH, kewānch**, a plant with irritating pods, 1, 68; II, 75
- COWRY**, the cowry shells, 1, 219, II, 38.
- COWSHEL**, the south east wind in Persia, II, 170.
- CPARS**, II, 99.
- CRAFF**, Capt. W., I, 7. *See CRIFI.*
- CRANE**, voice of the, 1, 298; II, 354.
- CROCERS, CROVIERS**, the Southern Cross constellation, I, 48, 70.
- CROCODILE**, the, I, 292. *See ALLIGATOR.*
- CROMWELL**, Oliver, trade licensed by, I, 221.
- CROOK, quig**, an interdict against men watching a procession of women, II, 41, 53.
- CROSIER. *See Crociers.***
- CROWS**, in India, III, 159; in Persia, II, 356.
- CRIFI**, Capt. W., I, Introd. xiv, 7. *See CRAI 1*
- CUDERAH**, Kideri, II, 2.
- CUDGELS**, fighting with, I, 281.
- CUIGA, Kalgha**, the cock's comb plant, I, 264
- CUI**, presented to ambassadors by the King of Persia, III, 53
- CUSCUSAR, CUSCUZAK**, Khuskhi zaid, II, 232, 347.
- CUSCUSU**, couscou, a kind of millet, II, 76
- CUSLI BASHLL**, Qizilbāsh, red heads, III, 57.
- CUSSANIS, CUSSANUS**, III, 44, 45.
- CUSSET**, Khuished, a Pāsi name, II, 257.
- CUSTOMER**, a collector of customs, I, 247.
- CUSTOM HOUSE**, at Surat, I, 247.
- CUTCHERY, khichri**, rice boiled with lentils, e.c., I, 94, 209
- CUTTIANIS, kuttan**, silk or mixed silk and cotton cloth, II, 113.
- CUVELA**, Comtien, Mr., II, 3; III, 197.
- CUVIERFISH**, the, II, 99, 154
- CUVI CONY**, Kotta kumru, I, Introd. xviii, 146
- CYPRESS tree**, the, I, 322; II, 207, 213.
- CYRUS**, King of Persia, II, 211, III, 2, 43.
- DABU**, Dābhōl, II, 68
- DAENAI**, the tribe, II, 89.
- DAIMONS**, III, 93.
- DAIAV**, a Portuguese settlement, I, 210.
- DAMAR, DAMMAR**, a kind of resin, I, 103, 302.
- DAMATI**, Damki, I, 213.
- DANCING WENCHES**, in India, II, 36, 39, 40, 256; in Persia, III, 94; expelled from Sivaji's army, II, 66. *See SINGING WENCHES*
- DANDA RAJAPOR**, DAN DE RAJA-POUR, Dindā Rājpuri, I, 195, 201; II, 2, 64, 66.
- DANISH factories**, I, 124.
- DAKBAK** cave at Kānhcī, I, 187
- DARIUS**, the Mede, II, 307; III, 2, 44.
- DATE palm**, impregnation of, II, 183; dates from Jahūm, II, 168, 203; III, 15; unde in, I, 282
- DEATH RITES**, among Muhammadans and Hindus, I, 95, 236f; among Persis, I, 294; in Persia, III, 79f, 131
- DI CASIRO**, John, Portuguese Viceroy, II, 151
- DI DUMNAH**, Dih Dunba, II, 357
- DEIR**, in South India, II, 98. *See ANILIO OPS*
- DEGURDU**, Dihgudu, II, 233
- DHFID**, Dihbid, II, 318
- DEHIR, dabir**, a secretary, I, 205.
- DRJAHAYE**, French Viceroy, I, Introd. xvii, II, 192
- DELFT**, Delft, beer from, II, 18

- DE' FOGO, Island, i. 45f.
 DELVI, *dālāwīy*, a leader, ii. 6, 31; iii. 197.
 DENEIRO, DENIER, a coin, ii. 337; iii. 153.
 DEPILATORIES, use of, ii. 116f.
 DEKAB, Dārābjērl, ii. 356; iii. 15.
 DE-ROV, *durāhī*, an interdict, a boy-cott, i. 90, 91, 251.
 DERVISE, *darvîsh*, a beggar, dress and customs of in Persia, iii. 125.
 DESBOROUGH, Rose, wife of Samuel, i, Introd. xxvi, xxvii.
 DISCOON, Kuh-i-Joogan, ii. 195.
 DESERTS, in India, ii. 97.
 DESIE, DESV, *dəsil*, a farmer, i, 301; ii. 4, 5, 6, 101.
 DEUBASH, *dubhāshiyā*, an interpreter, i, 88.
 DEUP COLLA, *dhūpkāl*, the hot season, ii. 93.
 DEVIL WORSHIP, i, 93; ii, 81.
 DHELY, DHILLY, Delhi, ii, 119; iii, 159.
 DIALLING, in Persia, iii, 93.
 DIAMONDS, at Calicut, i, 96; cutting of, i, 285; foil, for, ii. 145; mines, ii, 97; trade at Goa and Surat, ii, 25; i, 225; from Bijapur, ii, 83; varieties of, ii, 142 f.; of the new and old rock, i, 96; iii, 191; valuation of, ii, 145.
 DIASCORUS, Diocorus, ii, 266.
 DIEGO RAIS, 1-lans, iii. 178.
 DIERE, Divi Point, i, Introd. xvii, 77.
 DIET, of the Mahrattas, i, 209; medicinal in Persia, iii. 97; of the Moghuls, i, 234 f.; of Muhammadans, i, 234 f.; of Pārsis, ii, 256; temperance in, of Hindus, ii, 120.
 DILDO, a lingam, ii, 78.
 DIMITIES, imported to Surat, i, 220.
 DIODORUS, the Tharsian, ii, 265.
 DIPSY-LEAD, the, i, 53.
 DISEASES, charmed by dissolving characters written on a vessel, i, 66; in the Karnātak, ii, 84; at Gombroon, ii, 170 f.; in India, 93; at Masulipatam, i, 100; in Persia, ii, 171, 309, 342, 349; iii, 97 f.; at Surat, i, 285.
 | DITU, siege of, iii, 160.
 DITT POINT, i, Introd. xvii, 251; ii, 151, 370.
 DIVAN, *dīwān*, a council, ii, 296, 350.
 DIVINATION in Persia, iii, 67 f.
 DIVING of bargemen, ii, 7.
 DIVORCE, arranged by the Qāzī, i, 237; iii, 80, 106 f.
 DOEDALI, the tribe, ii, 89.
 DOG, the, impure, i, 278; wild, blinding deer with their urine, ii, 98.
 DOLL, *dal*, pulse, i, 255.
 DOLLAR, current in India, i, 96, 139, 219.
 DOLPHINS, i, 50; ii, 154.
 DOMINICAN College at Goa, ii, 11; a friar, ii, 346; Inquisitors, ii, 11; in Persia, ii, 247, 292.
 DOVECOTES, for collection of manure, ii, 235, 238.
 DOWLET ABUL, Daulatābād, ii, 48.
 DOWLY, *dəval*, the caste of dancers, ii, 39.
 DRAWERS, long, i, 100.
 DRESS, of the Armenian clergy, ii, 272; of Armenians in India, i, 88; at Cochin, i, 137; of the English in India, i, 88; of Fakirs, i, 241; of Jews, ii, 216; at Masulipatam, i, 88; of Muhammadan men and women, i, 235 f.; ii, 117 f.; of Pārsi men and women, ii, 117, 253; of men in Persia, ii, 207 f.; iii, 120 f.; of Portuguese women, ii, 27 f.
 DROGER, *dārīgħah*, a mayor, captain of the watch, iii, 23, 118.
 DRUGGINS, in Ispahān, ii, 247.
 DRUGS, classification of, iii, 94; imported to India from Arabia and Persia, i, 219, 282; ii, 164.
 DRYDEN, DREYDEN, John, his tragedy, "The Sophy," iii, 51.
 DUCCAN, Dakhin, the south country, the Deccan, i, 152, 158 *et passim*; meaning of the word, i, 322: "the bread of the military men," ii, 51; coins, weights and measures used in, ii, 130; Muhammadans of, i, 234.
 DUCCANEE, people of the Deccan, ii, 44, 45, 46, 67; their language, ii, 103.

- DUFI, *dheral*, an idol, an idol temple, II, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39.
- DU'UPOKE, *dampukht*, meat cooked by means of steam, I, 234; III, 146.
- DUNGENSIS, Ganesh Dongai, I, 331 f.
- DUN' ARI E, *ongari*, a coarse cloth, I, 220.
- DU PPEK, *dabua*, a vessel made of hide, I, 296.
- DURMAPATAM, Dharmapatam, I, 144, 145.
- DUTCH, the, II, 114 f.; an apostate, I, 335; at Band Ally, II, 324; called Batavians, I, 75; called Belgians, I, 113, II, 371; III, 37; called Flemings, I, 53, 77; called Hollanders, I, 121, II, 190; attack Bombay, I, 170; Calvinists, I, 96; defeat in Ceylon, I, 53; war and peace with the English, I, 30, 113, 157; factories, I, 123, 124, 149, 225; II, 17; fleet, I, 44; fleet at Gombroon, II, 158, 325; lost at Saldanha Bay, III, 180; attack Goa, II, 7; garden at Smaït, I, 269; house at Lär, II, 190; refuse to teach arts to natives, I, 267; Choulti at Surat, I, 212; fleet at Surat, I, 267, 292; III, 195; quarrel with the authorities at Surat, I, 251 f.; tombs at Surat, I, 253; seize St. Helena, III, 181; capture St. Thomas, I, 114, 292; control the spice trade, I, 132; II, 114, 163; arrive at Swally, I, 292. Chief at Vengurla, II, 17.
- DURY, *dhaturā*, I, 92, 96; II, 337.
- DUTY, *duutī*, a link-beater, I, 97.
- EAGLE, the, II, 98.
- EARING, Capt. A., I, Introd. xiv. See EKNING.
- EARH, habit of distending the, I, 138.
- EARTHQUAKES, II, 323, 339; Muhammadan explanation of, III, 73.
- EASEMILIS, custom of, I, 94.
- EAST INDIA COMPANY, the, mode of life of their servants, I, 86 f., 166 f.; official staff at Surat, I, 215 ff.
- "EAST INDIA MERCHANT," a ship, I, Introd. xiv, 7, 74; II, 2.
- ECHINUS, the, II, 304.
- EELBAR, the Emperor Akbar, III, 169.
- ECLIPSE of the sun in Persia, I, Introd. xxii, II, 306; lunar, III, 177; observance at, I, 275, III, 72. theory of cause, III, 71 f.
- EDUCATION of boys in India, I, 281 f.; in Persia, III, 66 ff.
- EKOÜ GI, Ekoji, II, 57, 60.
- ELEM, a name of Perseus III, I.
- EPIPHANI, the, I, 101; II, 42, 98; doing homage, I, 73; death of, a bad omen, II, 61; goad, the, I, 101, 271, at fort gates, I, 208; ingathering of, I, 102; swinging iron links, I, 102; criminals hanged to death by, II, 45; at Surat, I, 250; teeth of, II, 140.
- EPIPHANI, a lunar asterism, I, 126, 127, 128; II, 94.
- ELPHANTINIS, I, 116, 139.
- ELPHANTIO, Elephant Island, I, 159, 160, 194.
- ELK, the *sambhar* deer, II, 98.
- EMANULL LOBOS, Island at Goa, II, 21.
- ENBURGADOR, an official, at Goa, II, 16.
- ENNAID, the, II, 147.
- EMIR JUNJA, Mir Junla, I, 301; III, 161.
- ENVIL SOHAI, *Antur-i-Sohaili*, III, 53.
- ENCOURAGEMENT, I, 226.
- ENGLISII, the, II, 115; factories, I, 124, 132; II, 243; treaty with Persia, III, 48.
- EPHEMERIS, III Persia, III, 86.
- EPHESUS, Council of, II, 207, 268.
- EREWAN, II, 258, 268, 292.
- ERINGOS, grown in Persia, II, 311.
- ERNING, ERNIG, ERWIN, Capt., I, 7, 122, 123. See EARNING.
- ESCRILLOKI, *escriotope*, a writing-desk, I, 96.
- ESCRIVAN, *escrivão*, a clerk, I, 205.
- ESDUCHOS, Yezdikhast, II, 211, 233, 316.
- ESTARZO, a stand from which game is shot, II, 70.
- ESTHIVY, Aslamî, I, 190.

- FIMUNDULET, I timad ud dawlat, III, 22
- EUCHARISTI, among the Armenians, II, 271 f.
- LUCLID, taught in Persia, III, 84
- LUNUCHUS, at Golconda, II, 52; at Jeneh, I, 328, 337. at Masulipatam, I, 89, in Persia, II, 351; III, 39, 55, 125 ff.
- EUPHRATES RIVER, the, II, 155, 191, 361.
- EVIS BASHER, Yūzhashi, the leader of a hundred, III, 56.
- LVRSDON, Admiral, I, 44
- EYF, of Persian King's relations put out, III, 37.
- FACTORS, in the East India Company's service, I, 216
- FAKIER, faqir, a religious mendicant, a holy man, II, 113 f., I, 240, austenities and penances of, I, 240 f., 257 ff.; II, 77. burial of, in Persia, II, 337; buried alive, I, 260, buried head downwards, II, 104; dice of, I, 241; incident with a, I, 313, dissolute life of, II, 113, ring worn to check incontinence, II, 35.
- "FAICON," "FAUCON," the ship, I, Introd. XXI, 157; III, 192.
- FACONRY, in Persia, III, 122
- FALCONS, II, 153, 304.
- FALSO CAIE, III, 179
- FANAM, a gold coin. I, 106, 139, 143, 149
- FASIS, of Armenians, II, 277.
- "FAUCON," the ship *See "FAICON"*
- FAVOUR FUMI, worn by Persian Kings, III, 52.
- FIJI, I, 251
- FENIGKAFR, fenigiek, grown in Persia, II, 311
- FETISCLRO, *seiticeso*, a charmer, wizard, sorceret, II, 24.
- FEVLR, treatment of, I, 286 f.; II, 174.
- FIDAI GO, a Portuguese nobleman, I, 191, 192, 308, 352; II, 8, 20, 21, 25, 26, 150
- FIELD, the, at Bombay, I, 172
- FIRAW, Firū, II, 207
- FIREFLIES, I, 347.
- FISH, in India, I, 298; II, 99; in Persian Gulf, II, 362; dinner of, II, 302; flying, I, 35, 50; sacred, II, 34, 238; symbol on staves, I, 208.
- FISIURA IN ANO, in Persia, III, 98 f.
- FIGGIG, a harpoon, I, 50
- FLANDKICA! ISLANDS, the Azores, III, 188
- FLANKIER, a kind of fortification, I, 154; II, 20
- "FULLFCR." the ship, I, 353; II, 2.
- FLEMINGS, the Dutch, I, 53, 77
- FLOODS, in India, I, 76; III, 165
- FLORES ISLAND, III, 188.
- FLORIDA, Gulf of, III, 188.
- FLOWERS, at Madras, I, 110; in Persia, II, 310
- FOENICLL, grown in Persia, II, 311.
- FOOD, in Persia, III, 136 f. *See DINE*
- FOOT RACK, *phīlārag*, a kind of spirit, I, 179
- FORI SI. GEORGE, I, 75, 76; III, 191.
- FOUR PAGODAS, the, I, Introd. XVI.
- LOWIS, black, I, 140; disease among, II, 175 f.; objection to eating, II, 176
- FRANCISCANS, occupy Buddhist caves, I, 188, Churches and Colleges at Bassein, Bombay, Goa, I, 174, 192; II, 13, 22; a young friar, II, 150.
- FRASS, *farrash*, a carpet spreader, I, 174, 307, 317; II, 62, 100, 108
- IRLNCII, Agent at Band Ally, II, 324, Agent at Lā, II, 209; an Armenian, II, 346; artisans at Ispahān, II, 302, factories, I, 124; at Julfa, II, 253; operations in South India, I, 122; trade in Persia, II, 164
- FRISCO, FRISCO, coolness, I, 51, 131. *See FRISCO*
- FRESHES in rivers caused by the rains, I, 76.
- FRIARS, Roman Catholic, in Persia, II, 246.
- FRIDAY, the Muhammadan Sabbath, I, 239; III, 76.
- FRINGI, "Empremen and Fians," I, 252, 285; II, 70, 112; III, 28.

- LISCO, *see* LRESCO pelo tumor de frescuri, II, 12, III, 197
- LOGS the clothing of, I, 349.
- FRONIAL MARKS, II, 108
- FRUITS in Persia, II, 214, 309, at Shiraz, II, 214. in South India, II, 96, at Surat, I, 298
- FYRR, J., Bibliography of his work, I, Introd. xxvii, memoirs of, viii, his Indian travels, xxxiv, his habits, xxxvi f his ignorance of Indian cities, I, 309, his knowledge of Indian languages, xxxiii, his relations with the natives, xxxvi, falls ill in Persia, II, 344
- RYER, W., I, Introd. xxvii
- UNEKALS among Muhammadans, I, 238, III, 79 f
- GABR, a Zoroastrian fire-worshipper, II, 225, 253, 306, III, 125, 201, Towels of Silence, II, 306 See GAUR
- GABRIEL, the Angel and the revelation of the Qui in, II, 74
- GATANIS, a sect, II, 267
- GATLN, Galenus, II, 14, 269, III, 97
- GILLON, a wine vessel, II, 20
- GILLE, captured by the Dutch, I, 71, III, 191, Point de, I, 71
- GAMA, Vasquez de, I, 161 III, 193
- GAMBOY River, the, I, 35
- GANE, in Persia, II, 231 *See* SIONI
- GANDOK, GUNDOK Gudur, I, 106, III, 192
- GANGAKHINS, a tribe, II, 89
- GANGES, the river, I, 106, 126, II, 90, 95, 153
- GAVILOR, a form of punishment, II, 322
- GAOT, Ghut, the western mountain chain in India, I, 312, 314, II, 47, 58, 95 *See* GAIF
- GARAVANCL, "a pease," a kind of bean, I, 68, 250, 251
- GARDENS at Bombay, I, 165, at Isphahan, II, 296, 349 f, at Jeneh, I, 322, at Mousar, II, 200 hanging of Semiramis, II, 234, at Shiraz, II, 212, at Surat, I, 262, 289
- GARLICK, "countryman's uncle, I, 338 use of, I, 286 II, 109 III, 101, grown in Persia, II, 311
- GAKI Captain H., I, Introd. xx, 166, II, 6, 15, 19, 29, 30
- GASPER ANTONIO, a Pahlantine II, II
- GASPER DE DIOS, a son of Gao, II, 8
- GATE, GAIFS, the western mountain range in India, I, 130, 147, 152 *See* GAOI
- GAVII, GAVIII a sect, II, 267
- GALK, GALK, a Zoroastrian fire worshiper, II, 225, 253 III, 125 *See* GALK
- GWELOCK, a fighting cock & spur, II, 69
- GELIBDAR, jilander, "a chief muleteer," III, 27, 123
- GIUSUS, III, 45
- GENJIIN, St John's apple, I, 298, II, 174
- GINOE, Kuh-i Gimio, II, 327
- GIRIU, a gentle, a Hindu, I, 74, 81, 86, 89, III, 152, 172, 256, II, 100, 102, III, 173, their language, I, 95
- GRIDE, GILLID, GILIDING, jardah, "a tall and stout man," I, 278 III, 53, 134
- GLK KOIT, Jana / u, the cold season, II, 93
- GLION, Jihuum II, 202, 340, 356 *See* JIKOM
- GLICH, Gachin, II, 184
- GHARS the western hill range *See* GAOI, GAI
- GHL, ghi, clarified butter, I, 94, 296, old, held in repute, I, 337 *See* BHIRR
- GHONG, a gong, I, 258 II, 92
- GIANI figure in Buddhist caves, I, 186
- GHIAV, Gilim, III, 15.
- GINGLR, I, 135, II, 76
- GLASS, for windows, scenic in Smart, I, 231 *See* OVIERS
- GOA, I, Introd. xx II, XX, 153, II, 10 f, Archbishop of, II, 26 Cathedral, II, 10, crusty, II, 9, cans and weights used at, II, 129 f, Dm, Nev Gor,

- II, 22, Old Gor, II, 22, police, II, 15, stones, invention of, II, 11
GOATS, producing the benzoin stone, II, 193
 Cumanian, II, 369
 flesh-eaten, III, 97, wild, in Persia, II, 244
GOCURN, Gokurn, I, Introd xx, II, 30ff
GODS, kyclofvin, "Dutch Admiral," I, 121 III, 192
GOGO, Goglia, I, 251
GOLD, hoarded in India, I, 283, imported from Sumatra, I, 219 ornaments, not worn in a mosque, III, 30
 "GOLIEN" LEECE the ship, I, Introd xvi, III, 163, 196
GOLDYRI fish, the, II, 302
GOLDSMITHS, weights used by, II, 127
GOLKONDA, GLICONDA, I, 84, 85, II, 44, 48, 50, 51, 52, 65, diamond mines, II, 97, territory of, occupied by foreigners I, 117, revolution at, I, 82, work at sea, I, 117
GOROOVI SHAW, ghulam-i Shih, a King's page, II, 166, 347, III, 23, 56
GOLSLIKE, GOISBERRY, GOISIKOUCHE, Captain J., I, Introd xv, 7, 122, 123
GOV, a, town, a village, town, I, 310, GOVARD, a bailiff, II, 78
GOMBOON Lan lu 'Ab'is, I, Introd xxii, xxv, II, 154, 324, 333 climate and diseases at, II, 170f, 354, English factory, II, 159, heat of, II, 165, rain at, II, 169 trade, II, 163f, III, 145
GONGORA, Gonçoril, Gongoury, Gorguili, I, 200 II, 32, 41, 58
GONOKHNAI, crowded by elephant and men, I, 271f in Persia, III 67f
GOOD HOIR, Capt of, I, 51, 142, 152, III, 179
GOODLYLIE, VI, I, 168, 169
GOOK BA/LRCUV, Gol i Luurgan, II, 168, 189
GOPI TAI AV, tank, I, 261
GOKARNS ISLANDS, I, 38
GOSBECK, GOSBLICK, GOSBLEK, a small coin, I, 285, 299, II, 109, III, 31, 153
GOULARK, Gwular, "the Post person," III, 169
GOULSBROUGH, Captain See GOLSBERG
GOULD seeds used in medicine, II, 202.
GOUI, in Persia, III, 99.
GRAMPOS, the fish, I, 55
GRANAI, a garnet stone, I, 220, II, 97
GRAND PAW, the, I, 342
GRACES, stonelss, II, 202
GRASS, roots eaten, II, 119
GRAVESPOLE, engraved with figures, II, 236f, III, 145
GRAY, Matthew See GRAY
GREAT MOGUL, the Emperor, I, 283; celebration of his accession, I, 270. See MOGUL
GREIUNDEL, Ghobandu, I, 190
GRIL clothes, worn by Syyids, I, 233, III 59, pigeons, II, 6)
GRIW, Nchumrah, I, 296, III, 195
GRILY, Sir, Matthew, I, 169, 211; III, 194
GREIHOUNDS, Persian, I, 280, II, 194, 305
GRIB, ghurah a galley, II, 6, 16, 19, 21, 66, 65
GUARDIAN STONES, II, 31
GUIANA, the iguana, used by thieves, I, 291
GUAVIA, the guava fruit, I, 110
GUIDS, in South India, I, 148, 150
GI IN SHU FEE, III, 45
GUINIA WORM, the, II, 175
GUINLY, Guinca, hens, I, 69
GUICONDA See GOLKONDA
GUIAN, GULLIAN, GULIEON, Kali-jin, I, Introd xx, 308, 310, 316, 320, 348, II, 68
GUNDORF, Gundur, I, 106, III, 192
GUR, GUKR, gark, a hill fort I, 319, 322, 332, 353 II, 48
GUKCISIAN, Georgi, II, 290
GURULEI, "a vessel to drink water with," I, 125, III, 137
GURIRAI, GUZTRAI, Gujurati, I, 152; II, 32, III, 159
GΥFORD, GΥRIARD, P and W, I, Introd xi, xxi, 169, 303, II, 2, 87; III, 195f, 199
GΥNOSEPHIS, the, II, 100

- HAIENI, King of Tartary, iii, 44 f.
 HACKLRY, *chhakri*, 'an Indian chariot,' a light cañit, i, 213, 271, 279.
 HACKEIN FRINGI, *hakim farangi*, a Frank doctor, ii, 345.
 HAUDOCK, Capt., iii, 176.
 HADIS, *hadis*, the religious traditions of the Muhammadans, iii, 81.
 HAEMORRHOIDS, a disease in Persia, iii, 98 f.
 HAGILS CAUH, Hāh/ Khān, i, 339.
 HAIR, offered to the dead, ii, 34; how worn in Cochin, i, 136, in Persia, iii, 121.
 HAKANI BASIR, *hakim basīt*, the chief physician, iii, 95.
 HALI, Hāly, i, 93, iii, 46, 98. *See* 'ALI.
 HAMALLIJI, the Hambaliyah sect, i, 232.
 HANIFI, the Hanifi sect, i, 232, 233.
 HANUMAN, the monkey god, i, 314.
 HARAVI, a huem, seraglio, i, 326, 334; ii, 216, danger of overlooking, iii, 130.
 HARRISON, Mr., i, Introd. vii.
 HARVEST, in India, ii, 86, methods of gathering, ii, 108, 207.
 HASILE, iii, 16.
 HATS, worn by attendants on the King of Persia, iii, 53.
 HAVADAR, *havādār*, a sergeant, "a commander," i, 308, 314, 315, 320, 329, 348; ii, 4, horse of, its grave, iii, 31.
 HAWKS, from Muscovy, ii, 304. *See* FALCONS.
 HAZORY, *hazari*, a commander of a thousand men, ii, 111.
 HEAD of King, held sacred, iii, 41.
 HECATONHYIOS, iii, 19.
 HILLI, Muhammadan belief regarding, iii, 113.
 HENRY KENRY Islands, Vondai Khandari, i, 159, 160, iii, 163, 164.
 HERBFRY, Sir T., i, Introd. viii, xxviii, 5; ii, 204.
 HERBS, in Persia, ii, 310, used for salads at Surat, i, 297.
 HERMODICIVI plant the, ii, 194, 311, 322.
 HISIR BEHISI, *Hasht behisht*, ii, 349.
 HIBISCUS, the plant, i, 349.
 HIDI, Hyde, Capt. J., i, Introd. vii, 1, 122, 123.
 HINDU, a person of Indian religion and race, "a heathen," i, 205; ii, 6; feasts of, i, 276 ff.; list of months, ii, 92; wedding celebrations, i, 277. *See* GURU.
 HING, assafœtida, i, 286, ii, 109, 196. *See* ASSAFŒTIDA.
 HIPPOCRATES, an authority on medicine, iii, 73, 97.
 HOBLKA, *hubārah*, a bustard; its gizzard used as a cure for asthma, ii, 356.
 HORSON, Rose, i, Introd. xviii.
 HOBY. HOBY CAHIER, *Haboshī*, nn Abyssiman. "Lively wooly pated Blacks," ii, 5, 53.
 HODGE, HODGELL, *hay, hayi*, a pilgrim, a pilgrim among the Muhammadans, i, Introd. xxviii, 230, 267; ii, 216, 352, 359, iii, 81, 104.
 HORSES, wild, ii, 69.
 HOLOCORI, *Halulhor*, an ostent, a servenger, i, 82, 244, 276, ii, 100, 106.
 HOOLI, the Hindu vernal festival, i, 277; ii, 79. *See* HOOLI.
 HOOLIS, John, Duke of Newcastle; i, Introd. 3.
 HOOLW, *halwā*, a sweetmeat, i, 238; iii, 60, 79, 80.
 HOLOAK, the hollyhock, ii, 310.
 HOMAYAK, i, Introd. viii, 149. *See* OOK.
 HOOK SWINGING, iii, 6f., ii, 77.
 HOOLY. *See* HOOLI.
 HORSEHOUND, white, ii, 322.
 HORNS, fixed on buildings, ii, 199, 206, blown at baths, iii, 32.
 HORSES, biting of, i, 342, iii, 134, bleeding of, in Persia, iii, 123 f.; flesh eaten, iii, 97, food of, in Persia, ii, 164, gelding of, i, 296; grave of a, ii, 31; litter for, i, 251; prices

- of, 1, 205; tails, 1, 208, traffic in, 1, 282, 328, II, 156. *Turky*, 1, 318
See ARAP
- HOKIO, HORTA**, 1 garden, 1, 173, II, 22
- HOSIERS** for animals, 1, 138
- Hossiyy Gossen**, Hossy Gossy, the martyr, Hasan and Husain, the martyred at their festival, 1, 256, 273; III, 138.
- HOT** springs and baths, II, 95, 328 ff., 346. See HUMMUMI
- HOTELIERS**, the, III, 179 ff.
- HOUGHTON**, Lieut., 1, 169
- HOUSES** carried on camels, II, 347, at Cochin, 1, 136; in Johanna, 1, 60 ff.; at Nasulipatam, 1, 80; of the Moors, II, 119 ff., in Persia, III, 15 ff., at Shirāz, II, 217; at Surat, 1, 309.
- HUBBLE BUBBLE**, a tobacco pipe, 1, 43, 58, 315, 323, canes for, 1, 136; III, 34.
- HURIY**, Hubh, II, 19, 44, 68, cloth under it, II, 53.
- HUMMUMI**, *hammam*, "a Brineo," a Turkish bath, 1, 214, 237, 322; II, 109, 112, 333, III, 32 ff., 130. See HOT SPRINGS AND BATHS.
- "**HUNTER**" the ship, 1, 154.
- HUNTING**, Athni, II, 68
- HUNTING**, Hugh, river and factory, 1, 106
- HYACINTH** a precious stone, II, 147
- HYDI**, Capt., 1, 7. See HIDE.
- HYRCANIA**, II, 353, III, 5, 18
- HYSSOP**, grown in Persia, II, 310.
- HYKIANA**, the, II, 290
- HYKIM ADIL SHAW**, II, 55.
- ICF** and snow used for cooling liquors, II, 174, 218, 248, III, 149.
- IDOL** worshipped by villagers, 1, 313 ff., idolatry, II, 77; idol carried in procession, II, 36
- "**IDU'I-AZIA**, the feast, III, 138.
- IGUANA**, the, used by thieves, 1, 291. See GUIANA
- IMAUM, COOJI LAUN**, Imām Qulī Khān, II, 235, III, 47, of Maskat, II, 155, his agent, 1, 299; Osseim, Husain III, 138, Zādah, II, 317.
- IMAUS**, Mt., II, 95.
- IMMURING** criminals, II, 205, 358
- IMMAILING** criminals, I, 91 ff.
- INDIA**, derivation of name, II, 90; cities, II, 119; climate, II, 91; deserts, II, 97; disease, II, 93; fish and game, II, 98 ff.; insects, II, 99; languages, II, 122; munces, months, II, 92; mountains, II, 95; races and their appearance, II, 100, 115 ff.; rivers, II, 95; seasons, II, 93; snakes, II, 99; calculation of time, II, 92; absorption of treasure, I, 283; women, II, 115 ff.
- INDIAN** ink used in Persia, III, 66.
- INDICO**, indigo, trade in, I, 220, 282.
- INDOSTAN**, Hindostān, I, 204; II, 52, 103, the Hindostani language, I, 253, II, 102, 122; III, 83.
- INDUS**, the river, I, 126; II, 90, 95, 151.
- INQUISITION**, the, prison of, at Goa, II, 24, the Inquisitor, II, 11.
- INSICIS**, in India, II, 99; not killed by Jains, II, 107.
- INTERLOPING**, I, 226
- INJWALI**, Tīvālā, I, 310
- INVISIMINT** a trade term, I, 221.
- IRIFNUS**, Galen, III, 73.
- IRON**, where found in India, I, 303; II, 97
- IRRIGATION**, II, 94
- ISINGLASS**, used in windows, I, 231.
- ISL DE PICOS**, I, 49
- ISIAHĀN**, ISPAHAUN, SPAHAUN, SUI LAHĀN, I, Introd. xxii, xxiv; III, 13, 15, 45, derivation of the name, III, 45; described, II, 239 ff.; capital of Shāh Abbās, III, 20, climate of, III, 19, clock tower at, II, 243, college, III, 31; menagere at, II, 295; proverb regarding, II, 308; river at, II, 252; III, 13, trade, II, 247 ff. See SPHAHĀN, SUFFAHĀN.
- IVORY**, trade in, I, 219; II, 140
- Ivy**, in Persia, II, 311.
- JACKAI, JACKAIL**, "a sort of fox," I, 140, 186, 347; II, 98.
- JAI KANAPE**, an ape, I, 40, 69; II, 339. See APE

- JACOB, the Syrian, ii, 267.
 JAFFNAPATAM, a Dutch factory, i,
 JAGEAH, JAGGEA, *jāgār*, "an annuity,"
 "a diocese," a piece of rent-free
 land, i, 300, 329; ii, 110.
 JAGGAREE, "mulassos," coarse sugar,
 i, 251.
 JAHORE, Johor, coins and weights at,
 ii, 135 f.
 JAMBEE, English factory at, i, 124.
 JAMBO, *jambī*, the rose apple, i, 147.
 JAMES, C., i, Introd. xxv.
 JANGV. *See* JAUGI.
 JANIZARIES, the, iii, 62.
 JANIZEEN, *jāz-nishīn*, "an Under-
 Sheriff," iii, 23.
 JAPANEWS, the Japanese, i, 225.
 JASMIN, the flower, ii, 310.
 JASWANT SINGH. *See* JESSINSINS.
 JATRY, *jātrā*, "a washing," a religious
 fair, ii, 34.
 JAUGI, the Jogi ascetic, i, 138. *See*
JANGI, JOUGY.
 JAVA, ii, 365.
 JAWK, the jack tree, i, 110, 176.
 JEALOUSY, of the Indians, i, 81; of the
 Persians, iii, 40 f.
 JEHUN, Jibun, ii, 189.
 JELFA, JULFA, Zulfa, abode of the
 Armenians, it, 252; iii, 37; Arch-
 bishop of, ii, 273; cathedral, ii, 261;
 the Jelfalines, ii, 252, 307.
 JEMOTTEE, a Muhammadan sect, i,
 234.
 JENEAH, JUNEAH, Junnar, i, Introd.
 xix, 321, 322, 330, 345; ii, 50, 60;
 birthplace of Sivaji, i, 340; Budd-
 hist caves at, i, 339; Fryer starts to
 visit; i, 307; iii, 196.
 JEROM, noted for its dates, iii, 15. *See*
GEROM.
 JESERVE, a rank of the Persian army,
 iii, 62.
 JESSAMIN, JASSAMIN, the jessamine
 flower, i, 264; ii, 117. *See* JASMIN.
 JESSEIGN RAJAH, Jai Singh, ii, 65.
 JESSINSINS RAJA, Jaswant Singh, ii,
 107; iii, 161, 168.
 JESTER, a, i, 334.
 JESUIT College, at Bacein, i, 192; at
 Goa, ii, 12; at Jelſa, ii, 292.
 JEWELLERS, trade at Surat, i, 284;
 weights used by, ii, 127 f.
 JEWELLERY, in Calicut, i, 137 f.; in
 Surat, i, 284 f., of the Parsi women,
 ii, 117.
 JEWS, at Surat, i, 225 f.; in Persia,
 ii, 216; iii, 36 f., 125; distinguished
 by their dress, ii, 216; ripped open,
 ii, 350.
 JIZVAN, a tax imposed on infidels by
 the Muhammadans, i, 275; iii, 162 f.,
 166.
 JOANNA, Johanna Island, i, Introd.
 xvi, 57 ff., iii, 178; towns, i, 60,
 63.
 "JOANNA," the ship, i, Introd. xv,
 xxxi, 53.
 JOHAR, the rite of general suicide, ii,
 106.
 "JOHN," the ship, i, 166.
 JORDAN, M., i, 226.
 "JOSIAN," the ship, i, Introd. xxvi;
 iii, 176, 183; adventure of a seaman
 on, iii, 187.
 JOUGY, a Jogi ascetic, i, 187; ii, 35, 77,
 104. *See* JAUGI.
 JOUSCAN, iii, 15.
 JUAN ABAUD, Shahahānābūd, iii, 163.
 JUAN DE NOVO Island, i, 56.
 JUDDAH, Jiddah, i, 126, 230; fleet
 arrives from, i, 282.
 JUGGLING, ii, 104 ff.; with balls, i, 89;
 iii, 191.
 JUJUBIES, the fruit, ii, 309.
 JULIANISTS, a sect, ii, 266.
 JUNEAH. *See* JENEAH.
 JUNKS, native, i, 73, 80, 144; Dutch,
 i, 149; Portuguese, i, 103, 121.
 KĀRWĀR. *See* CARWAR.
 KĀZL. *See* CADL.
 KEIGWAY, CEDGEWAY, *kajāveli*, a
 camel-litter, ii, 338; iii, 127.
 KEIGWIN, Capt., i, 166.
 KERENJAU, Karanja Island, i, 154, 159,
 160.
 KETCHEMACKROON, Kūch-ū-Makrūn, ii,
 353.

- KICHIFRY, *khichrī*, a mess made of rice, lentils, etc., II, 361.
- KIILEDRUM, carried as a mark of honour, III, 62.
- KING CROW, the, II, 98.
- KINGFISHER, the, a sign of fair weather, I, 178
- KING'S VISSLINGER, reception of in Persia, II, 166.
- KISMASH, KISMAS, Kishm Island, II, 158, 361, 362, grapes from, II, 202 f.
- KIRE, the, II, 98; a sacred bird, I, 95.
- KII-OI, KII-SOI, *quitasol*, an umbrella, I, 276, II, 36.
- KOQUEN IR, *lokñā*, a preparation of opium, III, 99.
- KOKASAN, Khurasān, III, 70. See CHARASAN.
- KOSLYNA, *khasānā*, treasure, a treasury, II, 46.
- LACCALID WARE, trade in, I, 219.
- LACLV, Mr., I, Introd. xxvii
- LACKI, lac, I, 284
- LACRISH, a vegetable, II, 310.
- LAUDER, sacrifice of victims on, II, 78.
- "LANCASTER," the ship, I, Introd. xxviii
- LAND, in India, the property of the State, I, 157.
- LAND'S END, the, I, 31
- LANGHAM, Sir W. Langlois, I, 106
- LANGUAGE, knowledge of, encouraged by the East India Company, I, 218; the Armenian, II, 288; official, of India, II, 122.
- LANNAR, the falcon, II, 153
- LATIS, Armenianus, III, 10; Lazuli, III, 10, turrite, manritte, III, 10.
- LAIKAY ROAD, I, Introd. xv.
- LAK, I, Introd. xxii, xxiv. See LHOR.
- LARACK, Larak, II, 158; III, 64.
- LASCAR, *lashkar*, a sailor, I, 145, 269, II, 369.
- LASK, looseness of the bowels, II, 171.
- LAW AND LAWYER, in Persia, III, 101 ff., 118, 131; in Surat, I, 242 ff.
- LI CQUE, LACQUE, LLQUE, a *lakh*, 100,000, I, 261; II, 34, 56; III, 163.
- LEII hand, the place of honour, I, 270, 315, 324.
- LEMNOS, earth of, its virtues, I, 287, III, 195.
- LEOPARDS, used in deer-hunting, I, 96, 271; II, 98
- LEVAI RO, *lavolta*, a kind of dance, I, 317.
- LEX TALIONIS among Muhammadans, I, 91, 245; II, 206; III, 105.
- LEWIS XIV of France, I, 112.
- LHOR, Lāi, I, Introd. xxii; II, 190 f.; III, 15; Lahore, II, 119; III, 159.
- LIBRARIES at Gokain, II, 37 f.
- LILY OF THE VALLEY, II, 322; lilies, II, 310.
- LIMES grown at Suiat, I, 298.
- LINGUIST, an interpreter, I, 178, 307.
- LINGUIT, the Lingayat sect, II, 19, 77.
- LINCHOLEN, J. H. van, I, Introd. xxviii
- LIONS, in South India, I, 96; II, 98; figures engraved on gravestones, II, 236. III, 145; sent by the Great Moghul to Shâh 'Abbâs, II, 323.
- LIQUORICE, wild, II, 205; in Persia, II, 311.
- LOCUSTS, II, 172, 177, 207, 324
- LOTI, Laft, II, 361, 362.
- LOGARITHMS, unknown in Persia, III, 85.
- LOGIC, study of, in Persia, III, 68
- "LONDON," the ship, I, Introd. xii, 7, 30, 122, 135
- LONDON CLOTH, II, 164.
- LONG DRAWERS, the, I, 100
- LUCAS, SH G, I, 166.
- LUMBICO "a concave or vessel, where lamp, burn together," I, 200.
- LUNGA, LUNGÍ, LUNGY, *lungi*, waist cloth, petticoat, I, 137, 255, II, 27, 117.
- LUSCAR, LUSCARY, LUSCARRY, *lash kar*, a soldier, "an army," I, 151, 249, 269.
- LYSIMACHIA, a plant, I, 264; II, 336.
- MACE, the spice, I, 132.
- MACHAWO, Macao, coins and weights used at, II, 136 f.

- MACKERELL, the fish, 1, 298
 MACRINUS, III, 44
MADAGASCAR, MADIGASCAR, 1, 54, II, 179 *See Sr LAWRENCE*
MADARET, Madura, Rijî of, II, 43
 MADDER, grown in Persia, II, 311
MADERA, Madena Island 1, Introd. IV, 33
MADRAS, Madras, 1, 103, described, I, 107 ff., the port, 1, 104, foundation of, 1, 105 f., III, 191
MADIGASCAR, Madigascari, 1, 54
MADHA, MECHI, Mecca, 1, 126, 176, 267, coins and weights used at, II, 136
MACATAN **MACAIANA**, Magâthun 1, 185, 185, 199
MAGEIRS, MAGILSS, *majlis*, an assembly for trial of a suit or for Court receptions, III, 132, 139
MAGHLAVIAN Clouds, the, 1, 48, 70
MAHDI, the, III, 46
MAHMOOD, Mahmûd, King of Ahmednagar, III, 160
MAHMUD EMIR CAUN, Muhammad Amîn Khân, 1, 301, III, 170
MAHOMET, the Prophet Muhammad, II, 113, his to ib., 1, 176, 230, II, 156
MAHOMEI MI HIDI SAHEB EZZAMON, III, 46, 47
MAIRVITA, among the, II, 67, horse men, 1, 342 *See MORAVIA*
MAJIM, Mathim, 1, 173, 175, Churches at 1, 175, 184
MAJIM, Majin, II, 228, 347
MAJO, Maijo, May Island, 1, Introd. IV, 38
MAJAIKA COSSI, the, 1, 126, 131, 133, 149 II, 365, cans for tobacco pipes, III, 34, Hill, 1, 176, piates, 1, 144, 164, 176, II, 16, 29, 152, Rija of, II, 68
MAJACCA, MAJACCÀ, coins and weights used at, II, 136.
MAJALALAM language, the, 1, 136
MAJBLRY, Marlborough, Lord, 1, 162, 163
MALDIVAI the Maldivian Archipelago, 1, Introd. VI, 71, 129
MALLOW tree, the, 1, 264, grown in Persia, II, 310.
MALCHE, Mâlkhâjah, sect, the, 1, 232.
MAMOOJA **MAMOOO**, *mamuaat*, 1 coin, II, 125 III, 152, origin of the name, III, 200
MANAR, Gulf of, peul fishery at, derivation of the name, 1, 129, III, 192
MANCHI, 1 kind of bird, II, 28
MANDADORI, *mendori*, a superintendant, 1, 175
MANCHIES, **MANGACHIES**, Manchies, the sect, II, 269, III, 76
MANIS, a heretic II, 268
MANGIORI, Dutch fort at, 1, 143.
MANGO VILUDOS, birds 1, 51
MANGO tree and fruit 1, 110, 147, 176, 314, 321, 327 II, 31, 337, used as a remedy, II, 84, best grown at Goa, II, 84 thick, II, 104
MANGU, coins and weights used at, II, 136
"MAN IN THE ARMACE," the, 1, 274
MANKA II, 201, III, 97
MANKID, cultivated, 1, 174
MANSOURI in Persia, III, 65 f
MAR the lesser, the tree in Persia, II, 311
MARBLE, limestone, 1, 315, II, 223, III, 11
MARGARITI, the seed peul, II, 363, 365, 366
MARIOLI, 1 Persian flower, II, 310
MARJOKAM grown in Persia II, 310
MARIKIS, clerk of the III, 24
MARRY NUT tree the 1, 250
MARMAGOUN, Marmugao, II, 8, 20, 21.
MARIAL, among dancing girls II, 39, among Hindus, 1, 89 276 f., in fun 1 95, performed by the Qiri, III, 80, 106, temporary in Persia, III, 129
MARINS, the Jew diamond dealers, II, 57
MARUJI, the monkey god, image of, 1, 314
"MARY" the ship, 1, Introd. VIII
MASCARENAS Islands the, III, 178

- MASSEGOUNG, Mazagong, i, 173.
 "MASENBERG," "Massinburgh," the ship, i, Introd. xiv, xxvi, 7, 31, 102; iii, 176.
- MASSUN, Muazzam, Sultān, iii, 169.
- MASTICK, Mastich tree, the, ii, 201, 347.
- MASTIFFS, English, ii, 305, 324; iii, 134.
- MASULIPATAM, i, Introd. xvii. *See* MECHLAPATAN.
- MATHEMATICS, in Persia, iii, 84 f.
- MAUDLIN TANSY, ii, 322.
- MAUND, man, a weight, i, 200; ii, 126; iii, 151.
- MAU RAJAH, MAU RĀJA, MAW RAJA, Mahārājā, i, 195; ii, 65; iii, 169.
- MAURITIUS Island, i, 152.
- MAYAR, ii, 238.
- "MAY-BOON" the ship, i, 154.
- MAY Island, i, Introd. xv.
- MAYOTTA Island, i, Introd. xvi, 56.
- MAZARINE, Cardinal Mazarin, i, 112.
- MEAT, abstinence from, ii, 79; forbidden in Goa, ii, 83; use of by Mahrattas, i, 209.
- MECCA, pilgrimage to, i, 230.
- MECHLAPATAN, Masulipatam, i, Introd. xviii, 76 f.; coins and weights used at, ii, 132; derivation of the name, i, 99; factories at, i, 106, 123; pintado cloths made at, i, 235; inundation at, iii, 165.
- MEDAPO.LON, Madapollam, i, 99, 106.
- MEDIA, iii, 18.
- MEDICINES used in Persia, iii, 95 f.
- MEER, Mir, a Muhammadan sect, i, 233.
- MEERBAR, Mirbahr, "a daily waiter," a harbour-master, i, 247.
- MEERGOSCOON, Marvdasht Khān, ii, 221, 225, 228, 319.
- MELIN, Mane, i, 188.
- MELECH-BURY, a great warrior, i, 314.
- MELINDA, Coast, i, 353.
- MELLI, the Malloi tribe, ii, 89.
- MELONS, water, ii, 337.
- MELOS, John de, i, 190.
- MEN of the Woods and Rivers, ii, 96, 97.
- MENAGERIE, at Ispahān, ii, 295.
- MENDAM'S POINT, i, 172.
- MENDOS, Emanuel, ii, 150.
- MEOTY, Mayotta Island, i, 56, 58.
- MERCHANTS, on the staff of the East India Company, i, 216.
- MERCURY used in medicine, i, 288.
- MESROB, Miesrop, ii, 265.
- MESTIZO, *mestizo*, a half-caste, i, 337.
- METAPHYSICS, in Persia, iii, 68 f.
- METAKRAH, METARRJIA, *mātārah*, a leather drinking bottle, i, 335; ii, 179, 249, 353; iii, 196.
- METEMPSYCHOSIS, i, 94.
- MEW COLA, *menh kūl*, the rainy season, ii, 93.
- MEZEGI, the Massaka tribe, ii, 89.
- MICE, abhorred by elephants, i, 101.
- MIDAN, *maidān*, "a hippodrome," "a Pomoerium," a Court, an open space, ii, 218, 241, 296; iii, 93.
- MIDAS, the King, all he touched became gold, iii, 84.
- MIDWIVES, dress of, i, 237; ii, 117.
- MILK tree, the, i, 265.
- MILLET, used as food, ii, 119.
- MIN BASHEE, *bing-bāshī*, commander of a thousand, iii, 56.
- MINERAL waters, iii, 12.
- MINES, in India, ii, 97; in Persia, iii, 12.
- MINISTER, the, on the staff of the East India Company, i, 218.
- MINT, the, at Surat, i, 248.
- MINTH, the plant mint, grown in Persia, ii, 310.
- MIRCHHAL, *morchhal*, a feather fan, i, 218, 241, 276; ii, 99, 104.
- MIRGE, Marg, ii, 239.
- MIRJA, Mirjan, i, Introd. xviii, 150; i, 39, 40, 41.
- MIRZA, *mīrzā*, a title of dignity in Persia, iii, 204, 216; Suffee, Sām Mīrzā, iii, 51.
- MISCOLLE, *misqāl*, a weight in Persia, iii, 151.
- MISERECOND, Church at Goa, ii, 16.
- MISEREEE; a gold coin in Persia, iii,
- MISTERADO, *mestizo*, a half-caste, 148.

- MOBBI**, a kind of intoxicating liquor made from jums, iii, 153
- MOCCHA**, Moco trade in coffee and houses from, i, 219 ii 83
- MOCOCK SUGA**, Mukhek sukhth, ii, 205, 341
- MOCRI**, Mughal, a Muhammadan tribe, ii, 110 ff meaning of the word, iii, 45 'he Gula, the Emperor, i, 118 *et passim*, celebration of his accession day, i, 270
- MOHILIA**, Mohilla Island i, 56, 58
- MOI ALIA'S MUAYANS**, Malays, i 223 ii, 314
- MOIUCOS**, the, held by the Dutch, i, 124 trade with, i, 124, ii, 163
- MONIO, MONILA**, *manilha*, a neck lace ii 27, 366
- MONGOOS** See MUNGOOSI
- MONKIS**, i 147, 317, ii, 98, half men, ii, 73 held sacred, ii, 73, caught by tigers, ii, 72
- MONKS**, Roman Catholic, in Peria, iii, 37
- MONOSPHITES**, Monophysites, the sect of, ii, 267
- MONOTHEISM** among the Hindus, i, 93
- MONOTHILIS** the sect of, iii, 75
- MONSOON**, *Vossoon*, the rainy season, i, 46, 124 f, ii, 7
- MONSIS**, the, in India, ii, 92
- MOON**, New See New Moon
- MOOR**, *Moormav*, a Muhammadan, i, 74 *et passim*, their haughtiness, i, 88, their jealousy, i, 88 f, ii 121
- MOORBAR**, Murbid, i, 310, 346
- MOORF**, Sir J., i, Introd viii
- MORA**, i, 213
- MORAD BICK**, Murad Beg, iii, 162
- MORAD PUNDII**, iii, 168 See MORO
- MORATTI**, the Maharashtra language, i, 201, ii, 66, 103
- MORDISTIAN**, *mort au chien*, cholera, i, 286
- MORO, MORA, MORAD**, Moro Criminal Pugle, i, 204, 205 207
- MORPHIUS**, a leprous eruption, ii, 349
- MORTGAGE** or conditional sale in Persia, iii, 110
- MORTIS ALIV HILY**, Muntazr Ali, i, 93 ii, 347, iii 60
- MOKRIS**, a kind of jar from Martaban, ii, 70
- MOSAIC work**, ii 217
- MOSIMBIOTI**, i, 54 225 slaves from, ii 23 cows and noisy of, ii 140
- MOSCUL**, a mosque i 238 240 250, at Brum 1 308 at Junnu, i, 333, minaret of iii, 29 parchment at, iii, 30 pulpit of, i 351 iii, 30 Royal at Ispah in ii 242 at Surat i, 250 at Shiraz ii 217 shoes removed on entering, iii, 29
- Moss, musk**, ii, 141
- MONSOON** See MONSOON
- MOSI AND**, ii 116, 221 iii, 200
- MOSH KOR PIKEL**, ii, 366, MOHFER OF IHIMI, ii, 341
- MOUINAS**, valour of the people of, ii 59
- MOURNING** cities of i, 256
- MOUSIR**, ii 200
- MOUSHID** *Mujtahid*, Doctor vi 122, iii, 77
- MOUSSINI BEGI**, Maqsood Begi, ii, 234, 236, 319 352
- MOUSIS ARMOUDIAN**, ii 267
- MUCKLIS CHIN**, Mukhlis Khan, i, 321 343
- MURRY**, *Murti, mufi*, "an high priest" a doctor of Muhammadan law iii, 77, 101, 102 111
- MUHAMMADAN** birth customs, i, 237 f, circumcision i, 236, death rites, i, 238 divorce, i 237, iii, 80 dress, male and female i, 203 f, ii, 117 f, drinking habits, i, 235, neglect of education i, 282, etiquette on entering a house, i, 235, seats of activity, i, 278, marriage customs, i, 237, New Moon celebrations i, 270, call to and rules of prayer, i, 236, 239, scribes, i, 240 taboos, i 232 f
- MUJARRAM** feast, restriction of, i, 273
- MULBERRIES**, in Peria ii, 309
- MULLAH** *mulla* a Muhammadan jurist or puer, i, 238, 239 240 270, 309, ii, 167, 229 347, his weekly sermon

- iii, 30; how appointed, iii, 102; praying at funerals, iii, 145.
- MULLEN, the plant *verbascum*, ii, 341.
- MUNJUMA, *momjāmah*, wax-cloth, iü, 158.
- MUMMY, natural, ii, 356.
- MUNCHUMBAY Island, i, 159, 160; iii, 192 f.
- MUNDAY, Capt., i, 31, 54; iii, 181.
- MUNDEN, Capt., i, Introd. xv.
- MUNGOOSE, MONGOOSE, the, i, 291; ii, 98.
- MUNSEL, *mausil*, a stage on a journey, a march, ii, 180, 183, 184, 185, 188, 189, 198, 200, 229, 340, 355.
- MUNSUDBAR, *mansabdār*, an officer, ii, 111.
- MURTHERER, a piece of ordnance, i, 333.
- MUSA CERASA, iii, 45.
- MUSANNE, a Muhammadan sect, i, 233.
- MUSCAT, MUSCHIAT, Maskat, ii, 155, 156; heat of, ii, 155; pirates of, i, 192; seige of, i, 193.
- MUSHAT, Mashhad-i-Murghāb, ii, 318; iron and copper from, iii, 15.
- MUSIC, in India, i, 151, 213, 313; ii, 103; in Persia, iii, 93 f.
- MUSK, MOSK, ii, 141; from Bhotan and Cochin China, ii, 97; rats, i, 291.
- MUSKEETO, MOSQUITO, MOSQUITO, the mosquito, i, 100, 231; ii, 99, 191, 208.
- MUSSAFERRY, Mazafri, i, 208, 352.
- MUSSAL, *mash'āl*, a link, a torch, i, 97; ii, 36.
- MUSSANNE, a Muhammadan sect, i, 233.
- MUSSELMEN, MUSSLEMEN, Muhammadans, i, 229, 233, 254, 275; ii, 359.
- MUSSENDOWN, Cape, Rās Masandam, ii, 157.
- MUSSOOLA, *māsu'lū*, a surf-boat, i, 75, 103.
- MUSSOON. See MONSOON.
- MUSTARD, grown in Persia, ii, 310.
- MUSTER, a sample of goods, i, 215.
- MUSTEZO, *mestiço*, a half-caste, i, 148.
- MUITAVY, a class of Jogi ascetics, i, 254; ii, 104.
- MUTTON, sold at Surat, i, 297.
- NABOB, NAIROB, *nawāb*, "a governor. a title of honour, i, 322, 328, 343.
- NABOND, Nāoband, ii, 336.
- NAIFE, a kind of diamond, ii, 143.
- NAIG, NAIK, *nāik*, "a Gentu prince," a gentleman, a title of rank, ii, 36, 42; Wherry, ii, 36; iii, 198.
- NARRO, the Nayār caste, i, 133, 137, 148, 150; ii, 42.
- NAPHTHA, iii, 12.
- NARAN SINAIJ, NARUN GI PUNDIT, Nārāyan Shenvī, i, 199, 200, 202, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208; iii, 194.
- NATAL, Christmas feast at Goa, ii, 8.
- NECROMANCY, in Persia, ii, 251; iii, 87.
- NEGAPATAN, Nāgapatam, Dutch factory at, i, 123.
- NEPA DE GOA, a kind of liquor, ii, 28.
- NEREIDS, ii, 97.
- NEREZ, iii, 15.
- NERULE, Nerul, ii, 28.
- NESSIR CORGE TUSSI, Khwājah Nasir ud-din Tūsi, iii, 70.
- NETTLES in Persia, ii, 310.
- NEWCASTLE, Duke of, i, 3.
- "NEW LONDON," the ship, ii, 2.
- NEW MOON celebrations, i, 270, 272 f., 341; iii, 142.
- NEW YEAR'S DAY, celebrations, ii, 29, 333 f. See NO ROSE.
- NEWRY, the lory parrot from Bantam, i, 291; ii, 98.
- NICENE COUNCIL, the, ii, 268.
- NICHANNY, *nāchāni*, a kind of millet, i, 297, ii, 119. See NUCHANNY.
- NIERSES PACRIVERUANUS, ii, 265.
- NIGESS, *najis*, unclean, i, 236; ii, 352; iii, 30.
- NIGHTINGALE, the, ii, 214.
- NIMROD, the hunter, iii, 2, 43.
- NISHAMBEAK, Nizām Beg, i, 334; iii, 196.
- NISHAM MALUKE, NISHAM SHIAW, the Nizām-hābi dynasty, ii, 48, 49, 50, 60; iii, 160, 198.

- NOBILITY, the, in Persia, iii, 39.
 NOCKSHUAN, Nakhichevan, ii, 292.
 NOKADA BIRAM, Nakhudā Bahram, ii, 329.
 NORIHLRN ARMADO, the, i, 153
 NO ROSE, Nor Rose, *nauroz*, a New Year's Day feast, ii, 333; iii, 138 f.
 NORWAI, Naroa, ii, 19.
 NOSL-CUILLING, ii, 43.
 NOS SIGNIOR DE CABO, a fort at Goa, ii, 8, 21
 NUCHANNY, NUCHERY, *nūchanī*, a kind of millet, i, 297; ii, 76. *See* NICHANNY.
 NUCQUEDAH, *nukhudā*, a ship-master, i, 269
 NUNNY GAOI, Nānā Ghāt, i, 345
 NUNSARRY, Navsāī, i, 294.
 NURE, *nūr*, a kind of tree, i, 350.
 NURMEC, from the Moluccos, i, 124; trade in, i, 132; wild, ii, 42.
 NU VOMICA, ii, 76.
- OATHS, taken on the Qur'ān, iii, 105.
 OBEDAH, Abadeh, ii, 317.
 OBLISKS, polo posts in Persia, iii, 134.
 OBNE, *ubnī*, the disease of piles, iii, 99.
 OI TAGARY, *āfālqāñ*, "a skreen to keep the sun off," a sunshade, ii, 36.
 OGOAN, Ujan, ii, 229, 231, 347.
 OLD WOMAN'S ISLAND, i, 176, 177; ii, 88; iii, 193.
 OLLA, OLI i, coco leaves used for thatching and writing, i, 95, 172; ii, 119
 OMIBRAH, OVRĀH, *umāra*, "a lord, 'a high official, i, 218, 289; ii, 51, 64, 71, 110, 111, 112.
 OMENS from animals and birds, i, 311.
 OMOR, 'Umar, the second Khalifah, iii, 46.
 OVRĀH *See* OMIBRAH
 OVAGER, the wild ass, ii, 297.
 ONIONS, grown in Persia, ii, 311; sea, ii, 76.
 ONOR, Honāvar, i, 149
 OPHIR, i, 121.
 OPIUM, from Calicut, i, 142, 220; eating of, i, 279; ii, 106, iii, 99 f.
 OPPAGAOT, Upar Ghāt, i, 319.
- ORANGI tree, the, i, 63; ii, 206; essence of oranges, i, 234; ii, 112.
 ORMUS, ii, 114, 157, 158, 365; iii, 64; the town, ii, 189
 OSI OSI, the cry "Hasan Husain." i, 256.
 OSMA, Usmān, the third Khalifah, iii, 46.
 OSMUND fern, the, i, 41.
 ORAVES, iii, 44.
 OWEN, Capt., i, Introd. xxvi; iii, 176.
 OXEN, driving goods, i, 295; castration of, i, 296; milk-white from Gujarat, i, 295; iii, 157.
 OYENDR, OYINDE, OYLANDINE, Sir G., i, 162, 168, 223; iii, 199; Chief of Karwar, ii, 2, 86; iii, 197; his tomb, i, 254.
 OYNDEN, H., i, Introd. xix, vii.
 OYUS, the river, iii, 2.
 OYDRACI, the tribe, ii, 89.
 OYL, oil, use of, ii, 109; seed, ii, 339; tree, the, i, 297.
 OYSTERS, i, 295; ii, 99, 167; Rock, ii, 7; shell, used in windows, i, 172, 192, 231; iii, 193; pearl oysters, ii, 362; iii, 9; found in rocks near Bombay, i, 159; affected by thunder, iii, 9
- PADDY, rice, ii, 206; boats, ii, 41.
 PADKL, a Roman Catholic Father, i, 135.
 PAGODA, pagoda, "a temple of the Gentus," i, 74; ii, 35, 37; iii, 172 *et passim*; gateways of, i, 109; in South India described, i, 108 f., a coin, i, 96, 327, ii, 56, 57, 132.
 PAIACLS of the Persian nobility, ii, 192; iii, 15 f.
 PAII MPOKE, a bed quilt, i, 96.
 PAITNKFIL, *pālikī*, a litter, i, 85, 87, 97, 178 *et passim*; right of using, i, 85 f.
 PALM groves, ii, 181, 207; iii, 159
 PALMLRO, the palmyra palm, ii, 119; described, ii, 181 f.; impregnation of, ii, 183; leaves used for ceilings, iii, 17. *See* OLLA.
 PAMERIN, *pāmarī*, a mantle, i, 199, 202, 204, 205; ii, 72.

- PANALA, Panhala, II 62, 64
 PANANA, Ponan, II 154, II, 365
 PANDAEVON, worshipped by peasants, I, 311
 PANGLI, Pangim, Panjura, II, 8
 PAIAW fruit, the, I, 64
 PAIFI, used in India, II, 103, mode of making, I, 352
 PARADISE, Muhammadan belief regarding, III, 112f
 PARACOV, a kind of diamond, II, 143
 PARASANG, a measure of distance, II, 171 III, 153 *See PHARSANG*
 PARALLI, Parel, I, 174, 175
 PAROCKLI, a parrot, I, 186
 PARSI, PARSI, the Parsi race, I, 293 ff., II 115 ff., 100, their dress in Persia II 253, their arrival in India, their customs, I, 293 ff., their sacred fire I 294 disposal of the dead, I, 176 294 II, 256, 306, food of II, 256, names, II, 257, scandals about, II, 255 *See GABER, GAUR*
 PARSLI, grown in Persia, II, 310
 PARSNIPS, grown in Persia, II, 311
 PARIHAI, II, 211. 234
 PATAN, PATIANAR, a couier, I, 102, 278, 279
 PATAN, the Pathan tribe, I, 234, II, 5, 46, 51, 53, 54, 56, 106, tale of a, I, 243f
 PAU RERO, *pedes*, a swivel gun, I, 271 *See PEJARLO*
 PAURIARCIJS, the Armenian, II, 269
 PATIANAW Latru, I, 106
 PAULISTINES, Paulistins, the Jesuits, I, 183, 188, II, 11, 13, III, 194, II 198
 PAUNCH punch, II, 28
 PAUNCH AUGV, *panchagni*, the penance of sitting within five fires, I, 15, 258
 PAW, *pan*, the betel leaf used for showing, I, 110, 234, 276, 325, II, 96, 162, III, 136
 PATAHAR, the bezoar stone, II, 194.
 PEACH tree, the, II, 230
 PEACOCKS' tails used as a fan *See CHOWRY*
- PEARLS, II, 362 ff., values of, II, 368; where found, I 129, II, 191, 364 f.; III 9
 PEAKS grown in Persia, II, 309
 PEARSE T, I, Introd xxv
 PEAS, grown in Persia, II, 341
 PEDDLER, *padshah*, a king, emperor, II 49, III, 41
 PEDRO SYLVO I, 352
 PEKU, English factory at, I, 124
 PEELING BOW, the, I, 112
 PENGRIM, a noble at bantani, I, 268, 269
 PERA, Pen, I, 199
 PENNYROYAL, grown in Persia, II, 310
 PENOYLR, S, I, Introd xxvii
 PLOW, an orderly, a native soldier I, 307, 312, 320, 322, II, 31, 85, III, 156
 PEOR, *pir*, a saint's tomb, I, 176, II, 198
 PEHLIR, I, 134, 135, 139, 147, 151, mountans, II, 41, from Sundi, II, 41, 42 trade in, I, 220, II, 83
 PEIUMI RY, II, 109, 112
 PERGOM, Pedgton, I, 325
 PEKINIL, PERIONEL, Perumal the god Vishnu, I, 78, 120
 PRSAW, III, 158
 PEKSYPOLIS, I, Introd xxviii, II, 211 ff., 221, 319, 346
 PRSLUS, King, gives his name to Persia, III, I
 PRSIA, alchem, III, 84, animals, III, 4 ff., anatomy, III, 94, 97, asses, III, 5, astrologers, III, 88 f., astronomy, III, 84 f., 93, baths, III, 32 ff., bees, III, 9, bulbs and roots, II, 310 f., camels, III, 5, cattle, III, 5, cavalry, III, 56 ff., cities, III, 15, climate, II, 312, I, 3, 14, coins, measures and weights, II, 139, III, 151 f., cooking, III, 146 ff., corn, III, 6, cotton, III, 8, courters, corruption of, III, 25, 132, curtezans, III, 130, daemons, III, 93, dervises, III, 125, dialling, III, 93, diseases, II, 171, 309, 341, 342, 349, III, 97 f., dress assumed by Fryer, II, 247, eunuchs, II, 351, III, 39, 55, 125 ff., fish, II, 362, III, 6, flowers, II, 310,

- 335 f , wild fowl, iii, 6 fruits ii, 309 f fuel, iii, 7, goats, iii, 5, gums, iii 8, heit of, ii 173 herdsmen and shepherds, ii, 226 346, historians, iii, 82 horses, iii 5 hunting, iii 135, King and their power, iii, 50 ff , language, iii, 65, law and lawyers, iii 101 ff , logics, iii, 68, marble, iii, 11, mathematics, iii, 84 f metals, iii, 149, medicks, iii, 95 f , metaphysics, iii, 68 f , minerals, iii 10 mountains iii, 4, mules, iii, 5, music, iii, 93 f , necromancy iii, 67, nobles iii 25, opium eating iii, 99 f , palaces iii, 15 f , pearls iii, 9; physicks, iii 71 f , poets, iii 81, processions and perambulations of the King, iii 54 f , rivers iii, 13, root, ii, 310 f , sanctuaries iii, 61, schools, iii 66 ff , sensuality, iii, 131, shrubs and trees, ii 229 ff , 311 330 silk, iii, 8 f , slaves, iii 56 tobacco, tax on iii, 7 treaty with the English, iii, 48, urbanity of the people iii, 210, vineyards, ii, 215 women, condition of, iii 127 ff , wool, iii, 8
- PLRSIAN ARMLE, the, ii 230
- PERSIAN FIRE, erysipelis, iii, 97
- 'PERSIAN MERCHANT,' the ship, ii 149
- PERSIAN WHILI, the, ii 94, 171
- PERSIANS at Matsupitam i, 86
- PLRUVIAN BANK, i 288
- PLIVENAU a salutation i, 324
- PLSHUA, the Mahatma Peshwa or Chancelloi i, 204
- PIACINA, *pataco*, "a dollin," i 139
- PERUGI PUNDII i 205
- PETARIRO PRILLIKO, *peddico*, a small gun, ii, 45, 112 See PRILLIKO
- PERU J , ii, 338 iii, 199
- PIJUORRI, Peddapalli i, 106 121
- PHALMILIV Belipitam i, 133 115
- PHANAVISAI the, ii 267
- PHARMACY, ignorance of, in India i 287
- PHAKMUV, a salutation, i 321
- PHAKMUND, PHARMOND, *jumur*, "letters, putut," a charter, an oraci, i, 288, ii, 63, iii, 53
- PHARSANC, a measure of distance, ii, 179, 181 *et passim* See PARASAN
- PHARSIAN the land of Fuz, ii, 234, iii, 200 f See PHURSIAN
- PHUPINE ISI ANDS, trade with, i, 219
- "PHORGIV," a ketch, i, Introd viii, ii, 83, 362, 369, iii, 199
- PHOSHOKRSCI NCI of the sea, i, 132
- PHURSIAN See PHAKSIAN
- PHYSICK and physicians in India, i, 286, in Persia, iii, 94^a, trick played on a physician, i, 326
- PIAZZO, PIAZZO, a colonnade, i, 61, 187 191, ii, 159, 192
- PICI PICI, a small copper coin, ii, 126, iii, 153
- PICHAGOR, Pythagoras, iii, 73
- PICKLRLIL fish, ii, 302
- PICKLROOV, *picaon*, a pirate, i, 144
- PICLOS ISI ANDS i 49
- PICTURIS II GOL II, 15
- PICCI OF EICHI, i, 1, 149
- PIGDIN, *pilim*, spitting pot, a spittoon ii, 163, iii, 150
- PIGIONS at Suri, i, 290 See GREEN PIGIONS
- PIGS, wild ii 69
- PILCHARD, the fish, i, 131, ii, 99, iii, 192
- PILLS the disease of, in Persia, ii, 98 f
- PICCRIMAGI to Mecca, its effect, iii, 50
- PILS II'S of skulls, ii, 245, iii, 21
- PINO fish, the, i 36
- IMPERNLI, the, grown in Persia, ii, 310
- PIKAIPIIS ii, 84
- PINKLICE, the, ii, 230
- PINKKAIOL, an animal hospital, i, 138
- PINK, a kind of vessel, i, Introd vii, iii, 164
- PINKADO, birds, i, 51 punted cloth from Matsupitam i, 235
- PISCASH, *pishash*, a present, i, 330, ii, 45, 51, 65, 161

- PISF *See PICF.*
 PISSAHI *HA* I, II, 350, III, 15
 PISTACHIA, tree, the, II, 230
 PIAGUL, the, in Persia, III, 99
 PLANTAIN, *PLANTAIN*, the plantain
 tree, a herb in Persia, I, 64, II, 310
 PLEIA VOLONICA, a disease of the
 scalp, I, 78f.
 PLUMS of feathers, worn by the Persian
 King and his attendants, III, 52, 53
 POKAIE, Hippocrates, III, 73, 97
 POETS and poetry in Persia, III, 81.
 POINT DI GATI, I, 71.
 POKUAT, Pukut*ti*, II, 197, 323
 POKCAT, Puhcat, a Dutch factory, I,
 115, 123.
 POLISH ambassador, the, in Persia, III,
 37
 POLLAX, the *See JIZYAH*
 POLLUTION, ceremonial, of Hâjîs if
 touched by Christians, Jews, or Ban
 yans, III, 81
 POLO STONES, "obelisks," III, 134.
 POON, the germander plant, II, 206
 POLYGAMY, among the Hindus, II,
 65f., among Muhammadans, III, 76,
 106, 113
 POLOGORE, Puli gor, II, 346
 POMEL RANAIE, the, I, 298; II, 230
 POMKIN, the pumpkin, I, 263
 PONDICHERRY, Poole Chere, I, Introd.
 XVII
 POLLAK tree, the, in Persia, II, 311.
 POLLV, the, grown in Persia, II, 310,
 III, 100 *See OILUM.*
 PONCHLANE, trade in, I, 219.
 PORL, PORUS, King Poios, I, 188; II,
 89
 PORI, *pahar*, a watch of time, I, 239,
 II, 92
 PORPOISEL, the, taken for a rock, I, 72
 PORTO NOVO, II, 58, 68
 PORTO PORIO Island, I, 32
 PORTUGAL, the Portuguese, II, 100,
 114, injure Kânheï caves, I, 188,
 194, erect cross on Ascension Island,
 III, 186; fleet, II, 20, 338; jealousy
 regarding women, II, 26; at Madras,
 I, 107, defeat at Maskat, III, 49;
 outrages in the Persian Gulf, I, 193:
- n, 156f., trade, I, 142, discover St
 Helena, III, 182
 POSI, poppyheads infused, I, 92, III,
 169, confused with Gwalior, III,
 169
 POTATOES, I 263, II, 76
 POIKA, *paka*, a kind of cloth, II, 83
 PODO, the common people, I, 195, II,
 21
 PRAYERS, the Mihhammadan call to, I,
 351, III, 29, hours fixed for, I, 236
 "PRESIDENT," the ship, I, Introd. VII,
 VIII, 122
 PRESIDENT of Bombay, his grandeur,
 I, 178.
 PRIAMUS, worship of, II, 77.
 PRICKLY HEAT, I, 100
 PRILSIS, ascetics in South India, I,
 136
 PRIMROSE, the, in Persia, II, 310
 PROPHETS, tombs of, in Persia, III, 145
 PROSTITUTE, dress of, in Persia, III,
 128, their fees, III, 130.
 PROVO, PROE, a plow, a small vessel,
 I, 65, 153, 300, III, 164
 PRUNILLA, dried plums, II, 248, 310
 PIOLFRY, the Alguma of, III, 70
 PUCKERY, *pagni*, a turban, I, 233, 281,
 285, 315; II, 36
 PUCKFRI, a water vessel, II, 163, III,
 135
 PUJEA, blackamore, I, 140
 PUJOW, *pulão*, a dish made of rice,
 meat, and spices, I, 234; III, 137,
 147.
 PUJARRA, Phûlpurâ, I, 255, 256
 PULSE, feeling the, I, 326 f.
 PUNCH, the drink, derivation of the
 word, II, 28
 PUNCHARRA, *Pachad*, I, 200, 203
 PUNDII, the town of Phonda, II, 2, 25,
 44
 PUNDIT, *pandit*, a learned Brâhman, II,
 3, 101.
 PUNISHMENTS, of criminals, in Persia,
 III, 105.
 PURCAT, Poiakâd, I, 132
 PURGATORY, existence of denied by
 the Armenians, II, 271.
 PURSLAN, grown in Persia II, 310

- PURTAIBOUR, Pintapgud, 1, 200, 201, 202
 PIACHO Island, 1, 159, 160, 166, 195
 PILAR FERSICAE, the, II, 227 318
 QUEDAH, coins and weights used at II, 135 f
 QUERIOS SANTOS a meteor, 1, 34
 QUFSHI RI, *Jachhahri*, a court house, "Royal Exchange," II, 243
 QUESTOR ZIGOSIATIS, Clerk of the Market, III, 24
 QUEIERI, QUEIORY, the Ryput tube, II, 100, 106
 QUILOM, Quilon, weights and measures used at II, 132
 QUODIN Islands, the II, 158
 QURAN, ID, feast of, III, 138
 KABIG, Raybig, II, 44, 68, coins, weights and measures used at II, 129
 KUBO DRI ETI HANTO, a lunar asterism, I, 127
 KACANNERS, the people of Akaan, II, 153
 RACKFET, *araj i bid i mushk*, willow water, II, 162 II, 34
 KAIN, charming of III, 173
 "RAINBOW" the ship, I, 353, II, 2, III, 196
 RAINFALL, unusually heavy, II, 162
 RAINS, the, at Bombay, I, 106, 210, in Persia, II, 169, in South India, I, 125 f, II, 85, 93
 RAIRIE, Rajgrd, I, 195, 198, 200, 202, 209, II, 65
 RAJAPORE, KATAOUR, Rajpur, I, 154, 220, II, 68, hot springs at, II, 95 coins, weights, and measures used at, II, 129
 RAJAIOUR, Dinda Rajpuri, II, 63
 RAMAZAN, RAMZAN, a Muhammadan feast, I, 270, II, 312, 358, III, 100, 138
 RAMERIN, a mantle I, 282 *See PAMELIN*
 RAMNAGUR, Dharampuri, II, 45 *See RHAMNAGUR*
- RIM RAM, in appeal to the god Rami, I, 256
 RAMRAS, Rami Raja, a King, II, 47 III, 160
 RAMS, fighting, I, 280, II, 242, mountain, I, 199
 RAMAN *See RAMAZAN*
 RAMA, the Rama of Cincatik II, 40, 41 III, 198 of Chitor, III, 172
 RAME, given II, 197
 RAPHALL, a Capuchin friar, II, 246, III, 92
 RASPOOT, KRISHNOOR, Krishnaw, a Ryput, military retinue of a petty chief I, 82, 252, 301, II, 100, 106, III, 165, 169, 172
 RATS, plague of, in St Helena Island, III, 183, the bandicoot, I, 291 *See MISK RAT*
 RID caps worn, II, 38, III, 198, by the Qizi, III, 102
 RED earth, hills of, I, 144
 RID gum a popular eruption or rash, in Persia, III, 97
 RELEERO, *re dero*, a tax gatherer, I, 307, II, 6
 "REYNGE, the, a ship, I, 151, 154
 REVIN, Rusin, VI, I, 226
 RHABARB, hubarb, in Persia, III, 97
 KHADAR, *khadra*, a customs officer, II, 205 220, 340, a town in Persia, a customs station, II, 322
 RHADARAF, RHADORAF, transit duties, II, 161, 162 *See RHADAR*
 RIVDISH, the rvidish, grown in Persia, II, 311
 RHAMNAGUR, Dharampuri, II, 65 *See RAMNAGUR*
 RHASIS Rhasis, in authority on medicine, III, 97
 RHINOCHROS the, II, 98, value of its horn II, 297 f
 RHUBARB *See RHABARB*
 RICE grown in India, I, 139, 192, 297, II, 76 96, in Persia, II, 206 used as food, II, 119
 RICHES concealed in India and Persia, I, 246, III, 25
 RING used to check incontinence, II, 35

- RIVERS in India, i 126 ii 90 93 in
Persia, iii 13
- RIVINON, Kevington Mi H, i, 222
- KOII, Mr i, i Introd xxviii, xxv,
iii, 176, 199 President of Gurut, ii,
315
- ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, at Shuruz,
ii, 209, 216 at Isphahan ii 246
- ROVFRIG, Rum, iii, 90
- RO NEAI, Kander i, 300
- ROOTS in Persia, ii 310f
- ROLL DANCING ii, 106
- ROSARIES, i 238, ii, 38 277 iii 30
See BEADS
- ROSES, in Persia, ii 310, 311
- ROUNDER, *ro mruh* a soldier re
ceiving duly pay, ii, 111
- KOUSELGAOI, Kis il badd in 153
- ROWEI II SAMHEI, Kuatalus-saifi,
iii, 82
- ROYAL SOCIETY, Fizier admitted to
membership i, Introd xviii
- ROYAL MAIL a post at Gor, ii, 5
- ROYAL CROWN, ii, 356
- RUM, the ii, 97 146
- RUNNING A MUCK, i, 230
- KUPER, the, i, 96 149 ii 126
- RUFILAR, piccident ii Johannia, i, 67
- KUSSIA trade with Persia ii 361
- KUSTAM, the Persian hero, ii, 225,
306, a Persian name, ii 2, 7
- KUSTAM LEMVY, Ku tum / am in, ii,
57, 63
- KUUF CONNA SHURI, the kud kuthur
Shor nesci ii, 15,
- SABBATH the, of the Muhammadans,
India i 239, 322f of the Jews,
ii, 248
- SABPL the simbhas deer, ii, 69
- SACKCLOTH LONGPI ii 16, 249 iii
121
- SACRIFICE Island i 144
- SAFFRON worn by those about to die,
ii, 106 grown in Persia ii 194
- ST AGOE ISLAND, i, Introd vi
- ST ANDREW, Church at Bindra, i,
184
- ST ANTHONY's fire, erysipelas, ii,
349, iii 97
- SI AICLISINI Bay i 54
- SI ALSTIN, convent at Gor, ii, 13,
- SI BARIHOLOWIEV, ii, 262
- SI PASHI, ii 265
- SI BENWARD convent at Gor, ii, 10
- SI BRANDON Island, iii, 178
- SI CHRISTOPHEK Island, i, 56
- SI CLARA, nunnery at Gor, ii 15 23;
order of, ii, 293
- SI FRANCIS, moon of, i, 197, ii, 86
- SI GIORGI Fort i, 103f, 106,
foundation of, iii, 191 Day of i,
307 coins and weights used at fort
St George, ii, 132
- SI GREGORY, ii, 263 264, 268 285
- SI GUYWARK, ii, 286
- SI HILENA, invention of the Cross,
ii 285f, Island, i 31, iii 180
- SI IACO, St James patron saint of
Gor, ii, 25 his Day, ii, 24 St Iaco
Island i, Introd vi 37, iii, 191
- SI JALES headland of, ii, 157
- SI JOHNS Churhuris Abyssinians,
ii, 271
- SI JOHNS, Syriyan i, 210, ii 310
- SI LAWRENC, fort and river at Gor,
ii, 20, 21 Madagiscu, i 54, 56,
iii 178
- SI LIWIS, Day of, ii, 302
- SI MAURICE, Mauritius, iii, 178
- SI MONACHA, monastery and Order
of, at Gor ii 15, 293
- SI PAUL, Jesuit monastery at Gor,
ii 12
- SI KHUSIMA ii, 293
- SI ROCK monastery at Gor ii, ii
- SI SERBASTIAN, Church at Cheul i,
198
- SI THOMAS ii, 263
- SI THOMAS his visit to India i, 116,
Sun Thomc i 5, f 74 103 292 i
com, i, 139 college at Gor ii, 57,
Island, iii 186
- SAKER, a piece of ordnance, i 338
- SAILOR, the, ii, 7, 29
- SAJAM *silim*, a salutation, i 63, 235,
324, 341 ii 6, 53, 56, 79 *aleekum*,
alnufum iii 143
- SAYD, *silu* a kind of cloth i 220
- SAYON, ii, 302

- SARSI T, Salsette, an island near Bombay, 1, 158, 160, at Goa, II, 29
 SARU, produced at Bombay, 1, 175, oil of it Ormuz II, 158, a cure for scrofula, II, 158, eating, a mark of fidelity, I, 342
 SALT FLEET, trade in, I, 124, 151, 220
 SALUATIONS, of Moors and Almohadins at Misrulpatam, I, 85, in India, I, 235, 324, III Peacock, III 143 ff See SWAN
 SALVATION, Salvacion, I, 176
 SAMBAL GI KUJACH, Simbhalji, I, 203, 207, II, 44 56, 60, III, 167, 199
 SAMBAL GI, I, 205
 SANOS earth of, used in medicine, I, 287
 SANSHIKI, I, 175
 "SAMSON," the ship I, Introd VIII, VII, 7, 122
 SAMARUGIO, Samardug, II, 263
 SANCRA CIARA, II, 15, 23, 29
 SANCIO PIYAK, at Goa, II, 22
 SANCIONICUM, II, 322
 SANCHEZES in Persia, III, 61
 SAND STORMS, II 155 f, 170
 SANDAL, essence of, I 234, II, 112
 SANDERSON, Mrs A M I, Introd XVIII
 SANDERSVALLA, Sardis, Dutch factory at, I, 75, 123
 SANSCRIT, Sanskrit, II, 37, 102
 SAO THIAGO Island, I, 46 III 191
 SAPPHIRE, the sapphine, II, 146
 SARANTAN, Sungapatum, II, 43
 SARASWATI, saraswif, biocide II, 167, 248, III 120
 SAPDANAMUS, III, 43
 SAKESSO RI A, the, III 184
 SAKSI, a fool for hogs, I, 64
 SARSAVALLA, II, 76
 SATTI, a huge ship I, 44
 SATYRS, II, 96 III, 199
 SAUNDERS, sandalwood, I, 65
 SAVORY, grown in Persia, II, 310
 SCALPS, emblem of justice, I, 208
 SCAMMONY, its use neglected in Persian medicine, III, 97
 SCANDERBORN, I 142, II 164
 SCARF cloth, I, 98 151, II, 196, III, 157, 192
 SCARLET, Sion, near Bombay, I, 175 See SWAN
 SCENES, in India, II, 107 ff
 "SCIPIO AFRICAN," the ship I, Introd XXII, II, 149 150, 165
 SCORPIONS, oil of, used as a remedy, I, 292
 SCUPPI HACIR AL KHARI, II, 367
 SCIBRIS, Muhammedan, I, 240
 SCRIBAN, a clerk, II, 101, 104, III, 171
 SCYTHIANS, ancestors of the Moghuls, II, 110, of the Moors, I, 81, of the Persians I 293, of the Persians II, 227, III 36, 143
 SCIA, calves III 160, command of I, 118 289, hawks, II, 153 onions II, 76, phosphorescence, I, 132, snakes, I 127, II 99, serpents in Persia III, 64 See LASCAR
 SCIMONS, in India, II 93
 SEPASIAN, a fruit in Persia II 310
 SFORZARE the in the East India Company's service at Surat, I 216
 SFIVASSAI Shiveshwar, II, 2 77
 SENSITIVE PLANT, the, I, 265
 SEHITK, Mount I 147 313
 SEHITA from the cattle fish II 154
 SEKHATTA Khuraptin, II, 2 III, 107
 SEKAY, a tree, the great gray crane I, 298
 SERAW INN II 189 See CARAVAN
 SEI RAM
 SEKI CALI Shersh Khan II 41, 42 45, 56
 SERCUTI TAPOL, III 75
 SERIAW, a party of robbers, I 223
 SEVA GI See SHIVAN
 SERIKUS Bishop of Antioch II 266
 SERODAR JAHID, a commander in centurion' II 4
 SHABANAI Shub Banwan II 104 III 15 See SHIBANON
 SHABAS A KASH, well done! II 24,
 SHACIEN, II, 251, III 122
 SHAH'ABAD See SHAWABA
 SHAHJAHAN the Emperor See SHAW JAHAN
 SHAILLE shah a Persian coin, II, 152

- SHAM SHANKER NAIG, ii, 41.
 SHAN ZANGER, Shamsangī, ii, 190.
 SHANANISY, ii, 78.
 SHARKS, ii, 99; charming of, i, 292; ii, 195.
 SHAVING, ii, 109; of widows, i, 95.
 SHAW ABAS, Shāh 'Abbās, King of Persia, ii, 231; iii, 47; gardens arranged by, ii, 213; administration of justice by, ii, 235 f.; dealings with Pāris, ii, 258; makes Ispahān his capital, iii, 20.
 SHAWBU'DIR, *shāhbandar*, a harbour-master, i, 247; ii, 160, 161, 173, 205, 337, 340; iii, 63.
 SHAW GEHAUN. *See* SHAW JUAN.
 SHAW GI RAJAH, Shāhjī, ii, 60.
 SHAW ISMAEI MOSSY, Shāh Ismā'il, iii, 47.
 SHAW JUAN, Shāhjāhān, the Moghul Emperor, ii, 65; iii, 159.
 SHAW MAHNUD CONDUBAD, Muhammad Khudābandah, iii, 47.
 SHAW REZIN, Shāh Razah, the tomb of, ii, 237.
 SHAW SCHOLYMON, Shāh Sulaimān, iii, 51; immoral conduct of, iii, 53 f.
 SHAW TOMAGL, Shāh Tāmāsp, iii, 47.
 SHAXTON, Captain, i, 169, 170, 303 f.; iii, 196.
 SHIBAR, *shibār*, a coasting vessel, i, 198.
 SHIEL, feeding of, iii, 4; long tailed, ii, 206, 369; iii, 4; mountain, ii, 244.
 SHFIK EL EILOUNI, Shaikh-al-'ulūm, a religious judge, iii, 111.
 SHEKE MINAS, Shaikh Minas, ii, 57.
 SHEKRE, a gold coin, iii, 152.
 SHEMAUL, *shimāl*, the north-west wind, ii, 169.
 SHERPIERDS, nomad, in Persia, ii, 226, 346.
 SHERBET, *sharbat*, a beverage, i, 335; ii, 295; iii, 137, 147, 149.
 SHERWAN, Shirwan, iii, 15.
 SH'I'AH sect, Imāms of, iii, 138. *See* CHIA.
 SHIEK, *shaikh*, an elder, a Muhammadan title, i, 233.
 SHIELDS decorated with the crescent moon, i, 323.
 SHIPMAN, Sir A., i, 162.
 SHIRĀZ, i, Introd. xvii, xxiv; gardens at, ii, 212; houses at, ii, 217; industries, ii, 215; mosques, ii, 217; wines, ii, 209 f. *See* SIRAS.
 SHIRLEY, Sir A., i, 252; ii, 231; genealogy of the family, iii, 194 f.
 SHITAN, *shaitān*, the Devil, i, 347.
 SHOOLS removed when treading on a carpet, i, 235, 323; iii, 136, 144; when entering a mosque, iii, 29.
 SHOFRI, the Shāfi'iyah sect, i, 232, 233.
 SHOPKEEPERS, roguery of, in Persia, iii, 117.
 SHROFF, *sarīf*, a banker, a money-changer, i, 136, 248; iii, 163.
 SIAD, a Sayyid, a descendant of the Prophet, i, 233; ii, 354; their insolence, iii, 58 f.
 SIAM, coins and weights used at, ii, 133; English factory, i, 124; trade with, i, 219.
 SIAM, Sion, near Bombay, i, 174. *See* SCIAM.
 SICK, the, exposed on the roads for treatment, i, 350; iii, 196.
 SIDDI. *See* SYDDY.
 SIGCMANJAI FA, a eunuch, i, 83, 84, 85.
 SIGALIING, a mode of, at Goa, ii, 29.
 SILIQUA ARABICA, nigra, ii, 75.
 SILK, in Persia, ii, 309; iii, 8 f.; trade in, i, 220, 282.
 SIIK COTTON tree, the, i, 262.
 SIMOOM, the, ii, 187.
 SINAI, a class of Brāhmans, ii, 38, 100 f.
 SINDA, Sind, i, 301; ii, 90, 152, 157, 167, 370.
 SINGANIAN pirates, ii, 152.
 SINGING WENCHES, i, 328. *See* DANCING GIRLS.
 SIRAS, Shūrāz, i, Introd. xxii; ii, 164, 211 f., 319, 355; iii, 15; wine of, iii, 43. *See* SHIRĀZ.
 SIRING, *shirīnbāf*, a kind of cloth from Agra, i, 220.
 SIS, the Bishop of, ii, 268.

- SITURNEE**, *shatrangī*, "a plain course carpet 'a floor covering, 1, 235
- SIVAJI**, the Mahratta leader, attack on Anchola, 11, 32, basiarity under his rule, 11, 18, at Bijapur, 11, 43 f., 54; preference for Brahman, 11, 3, 66; attack on Kāñwār, 1 152, 11, 3, his coronation, 1, 207 ff.; at Danda Rājpur, 1, 195, his descent, 11, 60; a "diseased limb of Duccān" 11, 57; envoys sent by him to the English, 1, Introd. viii, 1, 198 ff., 306 f.; 11, 65, his birth at Junnar, 1, 340, im prisoned by Aurangzib, 11, 65, opera tions in Madura, 11, 43 f.; "a moun tam rat," 11, 59, war with the Moghuls, 11, 57 ff., seizes Phonda, 11, 25; attacks Surat, "his treasury," 1, 214, 223, 249, 11, 44 f., 65, 11, 161 f.; pay of his troops, 1, 341, his death, 11, 167
- SKULIS**, pillars of, 11, 245, 111, 21
- SLAVES**, black slaves from Mozambique, 11, 23. in Persia, 11, 166; 111, 56 *See COUNTRY.*
- SMALL POX**, prevalence of, 1, 285.
- SMELLDIS**, the False, 111, 44
- SMYRNA**, Smyrna, 11, 164
- SNAKES**, in India, 11, 99, in Persia, 11, 341, attack by a snake on Fryer, 11, 40, charming of, 1, 98 f., generated from human brains, 11, 41, poisonous 1, 292, the abode of the spirits of the dead, 11, 78, water, 1, 127, 197; worship of, 11, 79
- SNAKESIONI**, the, 1, 138 f.
- SNICKER SNELING**, "Dutch dueling," 1, 299.
- SODOMY**, in Persia, 111, 66, 99, 131, at Surat, 1, 245, 282, among Firkas, 11, 113.
- SOG**, *sug*, pot herbs, 11, 297.
- SOGWAN**, *sugwān*, the teak tree, 11, 75.
- SOLDADO**, a soldier, 1, 349.
- SOLDANIA**, Saldanha Bay, 111, 180
- SOLDIERS**, Moghul, and Mahratta, their pay, 1, 341
- SOLOMON**, King, his decision of the case of two women, 1, 340
- SOMBRERO** *See SUMBRERO*
- SONDA**. *See SUNDIA*
- SOPHİ** the Safavī dynasty of Persia, 11, 308, 323, 344, 351, 111, 45 *See SUFIYE.*
- SOUİ**, doctrine of the, in Persia, 111, 69
- SOURNACH**, Surmuk, 11, 265
- SOUTH SEA** trade, 1 219, 225
- SOUTHWARD BAY**, naval battle at, 1, 30
- SOW THISTLES**, 11, 322
- SPAHĀN**, *Spahān*, Isphān, 11, 210, 348, 352, 111, 16, 25, 29, 37, 45
- SPILLS**, used in treatment of diseases, 1, 288
- SPICE**, trade in, at Calicut, 1, 220, engrossed by the Dutch, in India, 1, 132, 11, 114, in Persia, 11, 163.
- SPIDERS**, of enormous size, 1, 292
- SPILLING-POIS**, used in Persia, 111, 150 *See PIGDAN*
- SPILLI**, the hospital at Goa, 11, 14
- SPOOVS**, wooden, 111, 137.
- SPOKR**, in South India, 11, 69 f., in Persia, 111, 135
- SPOTTED DRRR**, 1, 96, 185, 11, 69, 323. *See CHITRI*
- SPOTTED LILY** in Persia, 111, 99
- SPRING** by eunuchs in Persia, 111, 126
- SQUILLS**, 11, 76
- SQUIRRIES**, 1, 196, 291; 11, 98.
- SIMBOLI**, Constantinople, 1, 231. 11, 164, 111, 90
- STARS**, falling, theory of, in Persia, 11, 71
- STARF**, an ass, 11, 165.
- STATHMUS**, a measure of distance, a perch, 111, 153.
- STAVLS**, made of silver, 1, 178
- SHIBANOV**, Shī'b Bīwān, 11, 194 *See SHIBANA*
- SHIVOKO PHONIC**, a speaking trumpet, 1, 242
- SHIRLING**, Mr., 1, 169.
- STOCKADO**, *estocada*, a thrust of a rapier, 11, 27
- STOCK GILLIFLOWERS**, 1, 264.
- STOKI**, Lake, 111, 2, 13.
- STONE BASS**, fish, 1, 50.
- STONEHENGE**, Stonehenge, 1, 38.
- STONES**, precious, 11, 142 ff.
- STORKS**, at Persepolis, 11, 222

- SIOVIS, used in Persia, II, 312 f.; III, 17.
- SIRAPDO, *strappata*, punishment by, II, 24.
- SIBIDAR, *subhaas*, a military or civil officer, "a customer," I, 199, 320, 345, 348; II, 4; III, 197.
- "SUCCISS," the ship, III, 176, 183.
- SUCCOIR, ales from, I, 68.
- SUJUGU, a kind of coarse cloth, II, 83.
- SUFIAHAN, Ispahān, II, 164; III, 13, 18, 45, 91, 96, 104, 129, 141. *See Sufian*.
- SUFII, SUFI, the Safavi dynasty of Persia, I, 272; III, 45, 141. *See Sophi*.
- SUGAR, trade in, I, 219.
- SUGAR CANE, I, 192.
- SUGUNI fast, the, II, 284.
- SUICIDE, general, II, 106 f. *See JOWR*.
- SULPHUR, II, 188, 193, 332.
- SULIM, ASSI M., 'Azam, III, 169; Budur, Bahā'u'llah of Gujrat, II, 151; III, 160; Eckbar, Akbar, II, 169; Mahnud, Mahmūd, Abdul Shah, II, 55, Müssüm, Muazzani, III, 169; Socodie Caudei Abdul Shāh, Sikandar, II, 55.
- SUMATRA, I, 54, 121, II, 365; trade with, I, 219.
- SUMBIRI RO, SULIRI RO, SOMHIRI RO, *sundari*, an umbrella of State, I, 134, 135, 178, 192; II, 67.
- SUN, fishes, III, 190; worship of in ancient Persia, III, 40.
- SUNDI, Sonda, II, 41; pepper crop, II, 42; Raja of, II, 56, 65.
- SUNNI, SHI'AH, Muhammadan sects, I, 232.
- SUPPLAITION, in Persia, III, 87.
- SULO, *rappa*, a stew, II, 28.
- SUKII, I, 229 ff.; Beach gate at, I, 252, III, 156; coins, weights, and measures at, II, 125 ff.; East India Company's servants at, I, 216; Custom-house at, I, 247; duty state of the city, I, 285; diseases, I, 285; quarrel with the Dutch, I, 251; English House, the, I, 214; factory at, when founded, I, 225; III, 194; factories subject to, I, 220; staff of English factory, I, 215 ff.; Fryer sent to, I, 210; gates, I, 249; III, 160; armed force of the Governor, I, 242, 249; mint, I, 248; mosques, I, 250; plants, I, 262 f.; Presidency of, I, 219; river at, I, 210, 266 f.; attacked by Shirji, I, 249; III, 161 f.; tombs at, I, 252 f.; stables, I, 250; Thugs, I, 244; facilities for trade, I, 302; walls, I, 248.
- SURLAFF, brocade. *See SIKBARI*.
- SURGERY, in India, I, 287; in Persia, III, 96 f.
- SUKHOOSI, *sarpush*, "a covering to a dish," I, 322.
- SUSVII, *sozni*, "embroidered cloths," III, 136.
- SUVII, *saif*, the rite of widow immolation, I, 95 f., 256, 338; II, 18, 117; III, 167; shrines, I, 256.
- SWAILLY, SWALIY-HOIG, -MARINI, I, Introd. xvii, 162, 163, 210, 218, 224, 251, 292, 293, 295; II, 149, 371; III, 155, 175.
- SWILIMENT, largely eaten in Persia, III, 148.
- SWORD-FISH, the, II, 99.
- SWORDS, varieties of, I, 336.
- SYAMORI tree, the, II, 294, 311.
- SIDDI, SIDI, the Sayyid of Janjua, an Abyssinian slave, I, 195, 201; II, 5, 18, 53; III, 163; Jore, Johar, II, 57, 63; Masute, II, 57.
- SYHHIS, in South India, II, 84; in Persia, III, 98.
- TAILEDAR, *tabidur*, a mace-man, III, 63.
- TALERI /, Tabiru, Taurus, II, 258, 268; III, 15.
- TABRI, the game of backgammon, I, 281.
- TALIK, *talāq*, a bill of divorce, III, 107.
- TAMPAKAMBHA River, I, Introd. xviii, 146.
- TAMIAN, a learned divine, III, 77, 79.
- TAMBIRANI, Timur Lang, I, 248, II, 90, 110.

- TAMBOUGAM, TABLEGAM Lake, 1, 172; III, 193.
- TAMBOUFR, T'AMBUR, a cymbal, II, 36.
- TAMERISK, the tamarisk tree, II, 190.
- TANIS, River, III, 88.
- TANAW, Thana, 1, 188, 190, 307, 352.
- TANGDELLON, Tang i Dahn, II, 189.
- TANGLOPEX, III, 44.
- TANK, "an aqueduct," a reservoir for water, at Bonaru, II, 198; at Goa, II, 22, at Elephanti, 1, 194; at Gokarn, II, 34; in India, 1, 235; II, 95; at Junnar, 1, 322, at Ispahan, II, 295; at Pokutal, II, 197; filled with butter, 1, 337.
- TANORE, Tanü, 1, Introd. viii, 134, 141.
- TARINIUL, the, II, 341.
- TARAPORL, Taiapui, 1, 210.
- TARR, *tāram*, a coin, 1, 143, 149.
- TARIARS, the ancestors of the Moghuls, II, 90 110, 268.
- Taurus, Mt., 1, 312, III, 4. See TABEREZ.
- TAVERNIER, J B., 1, Introd. viii, 226.
- TAI, trade in, 1, 96, 219; used in Persia, II, 162, 167, 295.
- TEKI, the teak tree, 1, 348; II, 75, 119.
- TEFLINGA, the language of the country east of the Deccan, 1, 95.
- TEVIL. See MOSCH.
- TIRRHI WORS, the hind winds, 1, Introd. vii, 73, II, 170.
- THALASSES, Talasius, II, 282.
- THAMARIND, the tamarind tree, 1, 314; II, 75; palmetto, 1, 59.
- THANA. See TANAW.
- THEMUSI, convent of, in Goa, II, 15.
- THEODOSIA, city of, II, 292; Theodosian Theopassists, a sect, II, 267.
- THEOLOGY, in Persia, III, 68 ff.
- THEVIN, Divin, Synod of, II, 265.
- THIRES, Thugs, at Surat, 1, 244.
- THONAND, *toman*, "an imaginary coin," "three pound and a noble," III, 200, II, 160, 163, 167, 249, 258, 304, 325, 340, 351, III, 152.
- THRISHOLD, kissing the, II, 159.
- THUGGE, 1, 244.
- THUNDRA, supposed cause of, in Persia, III, 71.
- THYME, grown in Persia, II, 310, mother of, used in medicine, III, 101.
- TIDES, the, supposed cause of, in Persia, III, 71.
- TIGER, the, 1, 96, 186, 347, II, 69, 98; anatomy of, II, 71, food of, II, 72; hunting, 1, 270; killed by a youth, II, 69; figures of engraved on grave-stones, III, 145.
- TIGRIS RIVER, the, III, 2.
- TIMI NĀIG, Naik, II, 42, 45, 46.
- TIN, trade in, II, 164, 250.
- TINDAL, *tanda*, a boatswain, 1, 269.
- TILLUMAI, spurge, 1, 266, III, 195.
- TOBACCO, "drinking of," II, 218, grown near Suiat, III, 158; smoked in India, 1, 234, smoked in Persia, II, 162, 210; III, 149 f.; canes used in pipes for smoking, III, 34, taxed in Persia, III, 7.
- TOCKERSKI, Thakurji, II, 329.
- TOCIA SCHELIMOV, Takht i Sulaiman, "Solomon's Throne," a mountain, 1, 340.
- TOPDY, *tarī*, "wine of the cocoe," 1, 140, 174, 230, 298; II, 85, bird, 1, 196, toddymin, a, II, 42; tree, 1, 195, 196, III, 159.
- LOKIN CIR, the tree, II, 213.
- TONASIA, *tamāshā*, a spectacle, II, 33.
- TOOMBS, at Surat, 1, 252 ff.
- TOPANGEE, *topanchi*, a rank in the Persian army, III, 63.
- TOPA/, a term applied to the dark skinned or half caste claimants of Portuguese and Christian descent and profession, 1, 171, 172.
- TOIA/, the stone, II, 97, 147.
- TORTOISE, the sea, 1, 305 f., II, 99; falcons rest on, II, 153 f.; shell of, II, 140; on Ascension Island, III, 185.
- TOSS, *tar*, a cup, II, 179; III, 137.
- TRADI, promotion of with the Deccan, 1, 328 f., depressed on the West Coast, 1, 221; winds, 1, 33.

- TRANSMIGRATION of souls, 1, 94, 108, 211; II, 102
- TREACLE, a medicinal compound, III, 100
- THERS, *al Shurū*, II, 214, in Persia, II, 311.
- TREE STONE, the, the moss agate, II, 147
- TRINCHIERI, Mr D., I, Introd. xxi
- TRIBUNOR, Tributary, I, 120
- TRIVIAL rule of office for the Portuguese Viceroys, I, 189, II, 114
- TRIGONOMETRY, studied in Persia, III, 85.
- TRINCOMALI, I, 114
- TRINIDAD, TRINIDAD ISLAND, , 49
- TRISAGIUM, the, II, 266
- TRUMBAY Island, I, 159, 160; II, 166, 190
- TUDIRY, Tadr, II, 39
- TUICI, the *tulsi* plant, II, 120
- TULI, Thil I, 199, 329, III, 164
- TURBAN, TURBUT, a turban, I, 62, 88, 233, 281, II, 35 113; III, 121, 133, modes of tying, II, 108
- TURBITH turpeth, a medicinal root, II, 97
- TURKISH language, used in Persia, III, 144.
- TURKY, a Turcoman horse, I, 318
- TURVIRICH, I, 135; II, 76
- TURNIS, gown in Persia, II, 311.
- TURPINIINI, used in medicine, III, 97.
- TURQUOISE, Turquoise, the, II, 142; III, 10
- TURRII doves, from Bassorah, I, 291.
- TUSS, Tūs, III, 70
- TURTHING, TUTHINGA, *tutenaqā*, zinc mixed with pewter, I, 219, II, 117, 256
- TUTICORN, Tuticorn, I, 129, 130, II, 58.
- TYRIDIIS, Thiodates, II, 263
- UNGEWARII, II, 209.
- ULM, the elm tree, II, 311
- UNCLESER, Ankleswar, III, 159
- UNDIKTAKIR, I, 224
- UNICORN, horn of used to detect poison, I, 289 f., II, 297.
- UNION pearls, II, 363
- "UNITY," the ship, I, Introd. xiv, 7, 30
- URCHIN, the, II, 303.
- URCHIN ISLES, the, II, 239
- URINATOR a diver, II, 105.
- URINL, of the cow, used to repel evil spirits, I, 231
- USBEQUEL, Usbek Tartars, war of the Moghuls against, II, 51
- USUKY, forbidden, but taken, in Persia, III, 109
- VAGARSCIBAT, Valarshapat, II, 268, 273
- VAGNAKH, a kind of dagger, II, 62
- VAI VIMI'S PEAK, I, 210
- VAN GOEN, Kyklop, Admiral, I, 121, III, 192
- VANGU GI KUJAH, II, 60.
- VLEGATIVES gown at Madras, I, 110, at Surat, I, 263, 297; at Thānā, I, 189.
- VENETIAN cloth, II, 71; a coin, III, 152, Venetians, the, I, 142.
- VENTOSO, *ventosa*, a cupping glass, I, 266, a wind catcher for ventilation, II, 159 f., III, 16 See BADGIR
- VERDE, CIE, Islands, I, 38.
- VERULAM, Lord, I, 266
- VERULIM, Worth, I, 176.
- VICROYS, Portuguese, appointed annually, I, 189, II, 114.
- VINGULA, Vengula, II, 16, 29, 68
- VIOLLIS, in Persia, II, 310.
- VISIAPOUR, Bijapur, I, 152, 202; II, 3, 5, 6, 7, 25, 42 43, 44, 46, 50, 51, 53, 60, 63, 64, 83; boundaries of, II, 50, 67, diamonds, II, 83; language, II, 68, towns and ports, II, 68.
- VISIADOR, an official of the Carmelites, I, Introd. xiv; II, 344
- VOCANOVIKS, VOCANOVICI, *waq'ah nāvis*, a newswriter, I, 205, 344.
- VOCKIRL, *wakul*, a factor, lawyer, I, 289, 299.
- VOIDLR, a tray for carrying away broken meats, II, 279; III, 136
- VORIOBED, *vardapet*, a learned doctor among the Armenians, II, 264, 273, 287

- VULCANO, volcano, in Del Fogo Island, i, 46; in Ascension Island, iii, 184
- WAKI SHWAR, i, 177.
- WANDI RING tribes, in Persia, iii, 123
- WARLIHOUSE KLI PLK, the, in the East India Company's service, i, 215
- WASHI RMEN, the, ii, 121 f.
- WAII R, supplied in cisterns, ii, 168, 179, 193; courses, ii, 199; spirit, rite of propitiating, i, 119, 197; mode of making, i, 94; ii, 120; iii, 149
- WAIVS, udhī, iii, 165.
- WAIX, for candle making, ii, 28.
- WAII H, danger of displaying under Oriental rule, i, 246, iii, 25.
- WAIVR bird, the, i, 196.
- WE DAI, Capt I., iii, 47
- WEIGHTING of Sivaji against gold, i, 205, iii, 194
- WEICHIS AND MLASURIS in India, ii, 126 ff.; in Persia, iii, 151
- WEILI, underground, a *baoli*, iii, 156.
- WESURL, Vaishakhārē, i, 346
- WLSILOCK, Capt, i, 7.
- WHILLIS, i, 72; ii, 99.
- WHILL, the Persian, used for drawing water, iii, 156
- WHILL, R., artist, i, Introd. xxvii
- WHILLLD, II, i, Introd. xxvii
- WIDOWS, dress of, ii, 117; burnt with deceased husband. See SUILL; shaving of, i, 95.
- WILD TOWL at Isphīn, ii, 300 f.
- "WILLIANTON," the ship, i, Introd. xxvi
- WILLOWS, in Persia, ii, 311
- WILLOW-WAII R, iii, 149 *See RACK-BII I.*
- WILSON, Dr. T., i, Introd. xxvi.
- WINDS, in Persia, ii, 169 ff., 187, 334, 341.
- WINE, in Persia, ii, 209 f., 215; drunk secretly by Muhammadans, i, 235.
- WINTI R, the rainy season, i, 49, 144, 152; ii, 157.
- WICH, tale of a, iii, 90 ff.; witchcraft, ii, 350; amulets to protect from, ii, 274
- WIVES, purchase of, iii, 106.
- WOMIN, condition of, drcs., ornaments, in Cochin, i, 138; at Goa, ii, 27 f., at Johanna, i, 67; of the Hindus, ii, 118, of the Mahattas, ii, 67, of the Moghuls, ii, 113, of the Pāris, ii, 116 f.; in Persia, iii, 127 f.
- WOOT, Cairmania, i, 219; ii, 164, 369; iii, 8
- WRLCKS, claimed by the Mahrattas, i, 206.
- WRILLING, i, 279; iii, 134 f.
- WRILLRS, in the East India Company's service, i, 216
- WRITING, in India, ii, 103 f.; in Persia, iii, 65 f.
- WICH, WYCHI, N., President, i, 222
- XAVIIR, XAVI RIUS, XAVI RIUS, St F., feast of, i, Introd. vii; ii, 87; tomb of, ii, 12, 87, exposition of his remains, ii, 12; iii, 197
- XLRIPHIIN, a coin, ii, 12.
- XLRHIT, sharif, a Muhammadan functionary, i, 239 250
- XERVIS, iii, 19. 44.
- XILO-CISSIA, ii, 74.
- YAM, YAWM, a yam, i, 263, iii, 183
- YAWPLNGI, *yapanyi*, a rain-coat, ii, 184, 316
- YIZD, the Pāri sacred incense, ii, 253
- YOGDAN, *yakhdan*, a portmanteau, iii, 135
- YOUNG, Capt, i, 169
- ZANI RHIN, the Zamorin of Calicut, i, 133, 136, 137, 142; ii, 41, 43, 67
- ZIBR, the, ii, 299.
- ZILON, Ceylon, ii, 73
- ZINANAHs, danger of overlooking, iii, 130.
- ZI RGOON, Zarghun, ii, 218, 319
- ZIRMAW, Surmē, ii, 317
- ZIVAN, Sivand, ii, 319
- ZINDA I-RUD RIVI R, the, iii, 13



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